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SKETCHES OF SOME

DISTINGUISHED ANGLO-INDIANS.

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SKETCHES OF SOME

DISTINGUISHED ANGLO-INDIANS.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

ANGLO-INDIAN PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

BY

COLONEL W. F. B. LAURIE,

RETIRED ROYAL (MADRAS) ARTILLERY;

AUTHOR OF "ORISSA, AND THE TEMPLE OF JAGANÁTH," "A NARRATIVE OF THE SECOND BURMESE WAR," "OUR BURMESE WARS, AND RELATIONS WITH BURMA," "ASHE PYEE," THE EASTERN OR FOREMOST COUNTLY, ETC.

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A New Edition, Revised and Enlarged.

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"Insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus, quæ noctes ac dies animum bene merendi stimulis concitat atque admonet, non cum vitæ tempore esse dimittendam, commemoratorem nominis nostri, sed cum posteritatis adæquandam."

CICERO, *Pro Archia Poeta*, cap. ii.

"So might we talk of the old familiar faces."

CHARLES LAMB.

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To the Memory

OF

MY FATHER,

THIS BOOK OF DISTINGUISHED ANGLO-INDIANS

IS

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

(MARCH, 1875.)

—o—

DR. JOHNSON remarks on the difficulty of the first address on any new occasion; and it would be well if every Anglo-Indian author could find some easy and successful method of introducing his last performance to the Book Public.

My direct appeal, through a prospectus, not only to Anglo-Indians, but to the reading world in general, for patronage to this little work, having met with a fair share of success, it would seem only desirable to send it forth without any further prefatory remark than "I am much obliged." But conceiving it to be necessary, as it is also a time-honoured custom, to say something regarding the contents, I shall, endeavouring to be brief, commence by alluding to the fact of even a larger number of names of Anglo-Indians appearing together in these pages than was at first contemplated. They are more or less distinguished: but there is certainly a goodly array; and my humble attempt to do justice to some of them (as Anglo-Indians) is apt to remind one of the famous lines at the conclusion of Shakspeare's "King Henry V."—in which the liberty is now taken of putting one line in italics, and altering "This star of England," to suit the occasion:—

"Thus far, with rough, and all unable pen,
Our bending author hath pursued the story;
In little room confining mighty men,
Mangling by starts the full course of their glory.
Small time, but, in that small, most greatly liv'd
These stars of India!

Several additional stars, among the departed as well as

the living, might, perhaps, have been introduced with advantage. Doubtless, when the time comes, some more able pen will do such luminaries—who, through force of character, for their hour became "lords of the ascendant"—ample justice. However, it may not be out of place to remark that, besides the great name of Lawrence, others appear among the rulers of the Punjab who have deserved well of their country—Sir Robert Montgomery (now a Member of the Council of India), Sir Donald Macleod, and Sir Henry Durand. Following India's severest trial, it would have been pleasing to record the many good actions which distinguished the lives of three such Lieutenant-Governors; and the violent and sudden deaths of the latter two would have thrown around the sketches a melancholy halo of interest. Sir Henry Durand alone would furnish an interesting volume. As a Lieutenant of the Bengal Engineers, with the force under General Sir John (afterwards Lord) Keane, he blew open the great gate of the fortress of Ghuzni, firing the fuze with his own hand. By this fearless act he was first distinguished.* In September, 1844, he relieved the gallant Major Broadfoot (who fell at Ferozshah) in the Commissionership of the Tenasserim Provinces, taking up the difficult question of the revenue assessments. Timber in the Thoongeen forests next occupied his attention; and, in spite of great hostility from the trade, Captain Durand traversed these picturesque, yet lonely, haunts of Chin-India, and made himself acquainted, by local examination and inquiry, with everything regarding them, with a view to improvement; evincing the same admirable spirit of inquiry which, nearly thirty years after, led Sir Henry Durand, ruler of the Punjab, to leave the camp, and visit the outpost garden and town of Tank. Having inspected the outpost on foot, Sir Henry proceeded

* The historian of the War in Afghanistan records this successful military operation:—"Captain Thomson, of the Bengal Engineers, directed the movements of the explosion party; and with him were his two subalterns, *Durand* and Macleod, and Captain Peat of the Bombay Corps. Lieutenant Durand was obliged to scrape the hose with his finger ends, finding the powder failed to ignite on the first application of the portfire."

on one of the camp elephants in a howdah with the Nawab of Tank, whose son was in advance on horseback to show the way. On another elephant were several British officers of rank, the whole forming a striking, though not uncommon, Oriental picture. At the entrance of the town are two gateways, one (the outer) of sufficient height to allow an elephant and howdah to pass; the second, considerably lower. From outer to inner gateway the ground rises. The Lieutenant-Governor's elephant passed the outer gateway with ease, but the second appeared too low. The officers did not think Sir Henry would pass through it. Those who have been in India know well the rapid pace of some elephants, which seems to quicken (as if the animal had an increasing sense of his importance) on entering a town on any great occasion. Although there was a short pause after passing through the first gateway it was just preparatory to a more rapid sweep through the second. The elephant proceeded; and, before warning could be given, the crash of a breaking howdah was heard, and a highly useful, as well as brilliant, career was over.*

The other sad event, which happened in London, is of too recent occurrence to require mention here. And now we turn to the living. There is Sir Douglas Forsyth, who has explored hitherto unknown countries in Central Asia, and has given an impetus to trade in that fickle region hardly experienced before. Mr. Forsyth's visit to Yarkund dates as far back as April, 1870, reminding one of the useful work of exploration through which Sir Alexander Burnes and other Anglo-Indians first rose to distinction.

In December, 1870, we find T. D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B., on

* The officers on the second elephant got down, and found Sir Henry on the ground, just beyond the inner gateway, lying on his face. This melancholy accident to a distinguished Anglo-Indian happened on the evening of the 31st December, 1871. Sir Henry Durand breathed his last on the evening of the 1st January, 1872, to the sincere grief of the Government of India, and his numerous friends and admirers.—(From letter from T. H. Thornton, Esq., D.C.L., Secretary to Government of the Punjab). Sir Henry (as Colonel and C.B.) was a Member of the Council of India, in 1860, under the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wood, Bart., G.C.B., M.P., afterwards Viscount Halifax.

special duty, writing to the Secretary of the Punjab Government, that "when Mirza Mohamed Shedee, Envoy from the Atalik Ghazee, ruler of Kashgar, and the country known as Eastern Turkistan, had an inteview with the Viceroy of India at Calcutta, on the 28th March, 1870, he preferred a request, on behalf of his master, that a British officer might be sent back with him, on a friendly visit to the Court of the Atalik Ghazee, as an evidence of the friendship existing between the two Governments, and with a view to strengthen and cement it." Mr. Forsyth's instructions were to go to Yarkund merely on a friendly visit to the Atalik Ghazee, and for the purpose of "opening up and giving impulse to the trade with that country." The expedition, under Mr. Forsyth, among other useful personages, included Mr. R. B. Shaw, "the first Englishman who ever went to Yarkund, and who may be called the pioneer of Central Asian trade with India;" Dr. Henderson, medical and scientific officer, subordinate to whom were Native Doctor Mohamed Yasseen, one bird collector and one plant collector; Mir Akbar Ali Khan Bahadoor, C.S.I., of Abyssinian celebrity, acted as Native Secretary. The report consists of 214 pages, with valuable trade statistics, and information on routes in the appendix.*

With similar laudable efforts on the part of the Indian Government, the Anglo-Indian has a chance of being utilised in the East, and, consequently, of becoming distinguished, which he has seldom had before. The Iron Duke says in his Despatches that the affairs of America "will always hang upon the skirts of Great Britain." So will those of India, as a matter of course; but, in the latter case, more must be effected. They must not only hang on the skirts of Britannia, but be woven into her dress, becoming, as it were, a part and parcel of herself, by a process which Manchester ingenuity may yet devise!

Among other distinguished living Anglo-Indians, we have the Right Honourable Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir George Clerk, Sir Frederick Halliday, Sir Erskine

* The Yarkund Envoy paid a state visit to the Viceroy, January 19th, 1875, and then left Calcutta for Bombay.

Perry, Sir William Grey, and Sir George Campbell; the latter well-known Bengal civilian (in 1875, of the Council of India), forming one, under the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and Sir Richard Temple (erstwhile a Calcutta reviewer) another, of the grand energetic triumvirate who did so much to crush the Bengal famine of 1874. Such well-timed energy cannot but command intense admiration. With even the twelve or more names already mentioned, a most interesting volume of sketches could be produced.

It is curious to notice how the all-important science of geography is mixed up with Anglo-Indians at the present time. Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., Member of the Council of India, and now V.P.R.G.S., succeeded the late Sir Roderick Impey Murchison as President of the Royal Geographical Society, and was himself succeeded in that post by Sir Bartle Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., also a Member of the Indian Council. We may also mention that Mr. Clements Markham, C.B., Assistant Secretary, Revenue Department, India Office, is Secretary to the above learned body. We have just heard that slavery has been abolished on the West coast of Africa; and this brings to mind how, in the middle of 1873, her Majesty called Sir Bartle Frere to her Privy Council as a recognition of his services towards extinguishing slavery on the East coast. The Anglo-Indian everywhere is becoming a man of the time. It is pleasing to note that energy and intellect have not only distinguished him in India and the East; but, at home, he has recently come forward in a remarkable degree to discuss great principles in social science, and to aid the grand lever of civilisation at the present day—education. A celebrated Anglo-Indian, a former Viceroy of India (Lord Lawrence), has not long left his seat as President at the London School Board he so worthily occupied; and a late popular and energetic Governor of Madras, who did so much for that Presidency—and who for the work he did there, and from the interest he takes in the country, may be almost styled an Anglo-Indian—Lord Napier and Ettrick—turning from the most important questions of social science, is now a member of the School Board; and, perhaps, a more zealous worker in the

cause of popular elementary education has never appeared before. But Anglo-Indians of every degree at home are, as a rule, anxious to work if they can only find employment; and if a "bad liver" is occasionally to be found among them, it is generally coupled with a good heart. We may expect in future years to see the Anglo-Indian utilised at home to at extent hitherto unknown. When such a wished-for consummation arrives, it will be no small pleasure also to note that English indifference to Indian affairs has vanished, and that "personal and social 'sympathy,'" recently alluded to by Sir George Campbell * as wanting to our rule in India, has become more general.

The notices of distinguished men detailed in this little volume, it is to be hoped, will assist the judgment of those anxious to form an opinion on some of them, but who have no time to peruse larger works; and the fame the actors have gained certainly affords every hope of a bright future; or, in the words of Rouchefoucault, "L'honneur acquis est un caution de celui qu'on doit acquerir"—a famous motto which has been thus translated:—

> "Honour acquired, is a guarantee
> That, as the past, so shall the future be." †

Three of the principal sketches are almost, if not entirely, new—Mr. John Colvin, General Beatson, and Sir John Kaye. In some of the others a repetition of expression will occasionally be found, which long intervals between their production, and a desire not to spoil their entirety, may readily excuse. The sketch of Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature, and the paper on Sir Henry Lawrence, originally appeared in a London Magazine, at first (as its name held forth) an Oxford *star*, which, although it had pecuniary and literary support from its well-wishers—among them two of England's most distinguished writers—after uncertain

* At a meeting of the "National India Association," Dec. 1874.

† Translated by the late Major-General P. J. Begbie, a worthy if not a highly distinguished Anglo-Indian, who translated some valuable works on Artillery, from the French, and, in 1852-53, wrote a History of the Coast (Madras) Artillery.

twinklings for a year or two, suddenly disappeared from the literary firmament, leaving no sign! Some good judges, and a few of the London journals, having done me the honour to think well of my *Dark Blue* contributions, the most important of them are here reproduced. The "Periodical" sketch—perhaps the only thing of the kind existing—may form some relief to the heavier fare provided for my readers.

With regard to the spelling of Indian words, I should remark that as far as possible, uniformity has been attempted; but where a writer of distinction is quoted, his own spelling is generally given. I have made use of what I conceive to be the most correct and approved forms of spelling; and I now trust that the word [illegible] will never again be spelt with an *h* at the end, to which it is no more entitled than China or Russia *

The portrait of Sir John Kaye, represented in full diplomatic uniform, with the Knight's collar and star of the much coveted Order of the Star of India (of which the Viceroy is Grand Master, and "Heaven's Light our Guide" the appropriate motto), and which is an admirable likeness, will doubtless please the friends of that distinguished Anglo-Indian, as well as the reading public who have admired his writings. By such men, if we may again quote Cicero, we are reminded of what we should leave to posterity:—"An statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt: consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem non multo malle debemus suimus ingeniis expressam et politam?"†

It may be stated, in concluding this somewhat rambling

* Introducing the general use of the Roman character into India for the vernacular languages—so ably brought forward by Mr. Frederick Drew, and admirably commented on by Sir Charles Trevelyan (President) at the Conference of the Society of Arts, February 12th—although we are loath to part with the Oriental characters, would no doubt aid in producing uniformity in the spelling of Indian words.

† Cicero, Pro Archia, cap. 12.—The motto from Cicero on the title-page is thus translated by a learned friend:—"There resides a kind of virtue in every good man, which, night and day, stimulates his mind with the incentives of glory, and suggests that the record of our name is not to be obliterated with the time of our life, but is to be handed down to posterity."

preface, that pains have been taken in the all-important matter (for a good record) of correct dates, with the view to being useful as well as entertaining.

So now, I cast my little book upon the waters, trusting that it may be deemed at least a healthy contribution to Anglo-Indian literature.

PREFACE TO NEW EDITION.

—o—

Distinguished Anglo-Indians, perhaps more than others of "Great Place," who sacrifice health and freedom to the service and glory of their country, warrant the division adopted by Bacon in one of his famous Essays, where he says:—"Men in great place are thrice servants: servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business." In submitting this new Edition of Sketches of such men to his readers, the Author has been guided by the desire to make his work more useful and interesting. The sketches have been more than doubled; and although what have been added are, for the most part, of a somewhat different kind from those which appeared in the Original Edition—which consisted of eleven only—it is to be hoped, for the present generation at least, if not for a future one, they will not be found less worthy of perusal. Some of the old sketches have been corrected, and in others additions or omissions made, with a view to improvement. Although nearly twelve years have fled since the projection of this work, the deaths among distinguished Anglo-Indians have, fortunately, been few, and even "far between." Some of those mentioned in the Original preface, have gone into "the silent land;" but others remain, with much of their former energy encircling them, as if anxious to further verify Dryden's metaphor of "a green old age," with the *mens æqua in arduis*. Then, again, of late years, excellent biographies have been written and published, of such illustrious Anglo-Indians as Lord Lawrence, Sir James Outram, Sir Henry Durand, Sir Herbert Edwardes, and Sir Fredrick Roberts,—the latter renowned for his wonderfully rapid march from Cabul to

Candahar, when our hold on Afghanistan seemed in as critical a state as forty years before. A biography also appeared of Viscount Wolseley, who, although not strictly an Anglo-Indian, has among the brilliant records of an ever active career important services to look back upon in Burma (1853), and India (during the Mutiny in 1857–58), hardly second to those performed in the Crimea, China, America, and Africa; and, therefore, he may be styled one. Such works on heroic lives will at once suffice as a reason for no sketches of luminaries already made to shine so brightly, appearing in these pages. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, a distinguished Madras Civilian, has also, not long since, increased his reputation by a book on Sir Thomas Munro, the famous Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras,* whom the great statesman, George Canning, so much admired. There has, therefore, been no want of able writers to hand down some of our most mighty men in the East to posterity.

Doubtless, authors will yet be found to give valuable sketches or memorials of such men as the late General Cautley (as Colonel, of Ganges canal celebrity), General Jacob, Sir Dighton Probyn, V.C., Sir Frederic Goldsmid (of Indo-European Telegraph fame), and others to be found in the honoured list of the Star of India. Five living Bengal Civilians of note may also be mentioned, Sir Ashley Eden, a former, and Sir A. R. Thompson, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir S. Bayley, Sir Auckland Colvin, and Mr. Lepel Griffin.

Among the great departed there is one who has only recently disappeared from the first chosen stars—a name which will never be effaced; and even if we go to the next best, there is no man living to put us in mind of him. A brief remark on his sad death, and some more interesting details regarding the admirable life of Sir Arthur Phayre, will be found at the end of the sketch and in an Appendix. A few days after he died, or on new-year's day of 1886, came what resulted from the "force of cir-

* June 10, 1820.—"Died at Pattikonda in Kurnul district, 6th July, 1827."—PRINSEP.

cumstances" (prophesied in 1852, by Lord Dalhousie), the annexation of Upper Burma to the dominions of the Queen Empress. Through the united energy of Earl Dufferin and Lord Randolph Churchill, this new stroke of policy had been accomplished, after a *third* expedition to Burma.* Had Sir Arthur been now alive he would have been the first to view with alarm the steady and fatal progress of Dacoity in the new conquest, and to have suggested vigorous measures for its extermination. Although no annexationist, he knew full well, as creator of Pegu, and consolidator of British Burma, that the whole country must one day become ours. And this [illegible] reminds the Author that he should not omit from his [illegible] mentioned worthies a name so famous as the recently [illegible]ted Sir E. B. Sladen, whose faithful and zealous service in Lower Burma, for more than thirty years, and [illegible]ant and devoted conduct as a political officer in the [illegible] Expedition, entitle him to high honour.† He also served with his Regiment (the First Madras Fusiliers) and distinguished himself in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. Of course it is from having so many distinguished men at her command that so much glory shines around the diadem of Victoria, the Queen Empress; but still, whether we turn to India or Burma, or elsewhere in the British Empire, we should ever keep in mind the wise maxim: "Be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the

* The probability of a *third* Burmese war is mentioned in the author's "Pegú," 1853.

† A Madrassie writing (August, 1886) on "the hostilities in Burma," pungently remarks, after alluding to the "mistake" of recalling General Prendergast so soon: "But the greatest mistake of all was to send Colonel Sladen away." Prendergast freely owns it was to the fact of Sladen being there that Theebau surrendered instead of bolting, which would much have increased our difficulties. 'Oh, Sladen is there,' Theebau is reported to have said. 'Oh, I know Sladen, and will surrender to Sladen.'—Nearly twenty years before this, Theebau's father, King Mengdon, had said to this able political officer at Mandalay: 'Sladen, I am sorry to hear you have been sick. I shall send you something tomorrow to make you well.'"—*See* "Our Burmese Wars," &c., p. 384.—What a change of fortune!—The old King's son, Theebau, after losing his kingdom, now a prisoner at Vizianagrog, in the Madras Presidency!

true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof." The really good and great work accomplished by Anglo-Indians in the East, generous Britons will not easily let die; but will be sure to carry down memorials of men who have performed it to admiring generations yet unborn.

Although it is not customary to regard the appendix, or appendices of a work, with the same interest as the body of it, the Author trusts that in this case an exception will be made, as he has found it necessary to insert the careers of a few distinguished Anglo-Indians therein. The speeches, also, of some great men—nearly all of whom have passed away—on the chivalrous Sir James Outram, will be interesting to many who love to honour undying excellence. There are likewise brief extracts from speeches by the late Sir Bartle Frere, with reference to the Pioneer of Indian Railways. These extracts, showing the amiable desire of Sir Bartle Frere to appreciate excellence in his fellow-men, possess a lasting interest, especially for Anglo-Indians. In conclusion, grateful acknowledgments are due to those who have assisted by furnishing materials without which it would not have been possible to write some of the later sketches.

W. F. B. L.

London, *November*, 1886.

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DISTINGUISHED ANGLO-INDIANS.

THE BROTHERS BURNE

INTRODUCTORY.

"The old East India House, in Leadenhall Str[illegible]lly disappearing, and nothing remains to show of [illegible] the portico, and this will be levelled to the groun[illegible] course of a few days." Such was the announcement made in the London journals about the middle of September, 1862. Warehouses and chambers were soon to cover the site of the once palace of London merchants, of the Company founded in the year 1600, under the denomination of "The Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies," which had risen to such great eminence in the commercial and political world.

Here was a grand theme for reflection! The disappearance of the relic of what has been well styled the most celebrated association of ancient or modern times, which extended its sway over the entire Mogul Empire;—what an interesting subject for the student of history!

The merchants first transacted business in the Nag's Head Inn, Bishopsgate Street. The old East India House, I learn, was erected after 1726, and completed and enlarged in 1798–99. What a number of celebrated men had stood under the portico, now about to be swept away!* No

* What a contrast the old House forms with the palatial India Office in St. James' Park, recently presided over by the Duke of Argyll, and now (1874) by the Marquis of Salisbury!

more were we to gaze on that stately entrance, on that tympanum containing figures such as Mercury, attended by Navigation, followed by tritons and sea-horses—emblems of commerce—introducing Asia to Britannia, before whom she spreads her productions.

But we might continue to think of those architects of their own fortunes—nearly all of them belonging to the middle classes—who had given such imperishable lustre to Indian history. In selecting for the following pictures the Traveller and the Physician, as connected with the Indian service, I will not presume to say that the greatest example of each class has been presented. The sketches must speak for themselves.

After the spirit of mercantile enterprise, to those who have laboured like the above two actors in the great drama, India owes much of her prosperity. To go back; we have the traveller and "political," Sir Thomas Roe, who, after exploring the Amazon, in America, first travelled to the Court of the Great Mogul; we have Boughton, the surgeon and diplomatist, who cured the Mogul's beautiful daughter, and, as a recompense, was allowed to found British trade in Bengal.

Hindustan has since then passed through many trials. The demand for cotton, it is to be hoped, will now do much for Bombay and Madras; and, whatever may be thought of amalgamation, let us as calm observers, accept as prophetic truth, what was eloquently uttered by Her Majesty's Secretary of State (July 17th, 1862), that there is "a future of great prosperity in store for India."

London, *October*, 1862.

SKETCHES FROM THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.

—o—

English readers—especially Anglo-Indians—in 1886, who require as often to be reminded as informed, may, before looking at our Indian Valhalla, be interested in, if not amused by, a very few brief sketches from a most noble mansion, of a great age passed away. Like the South-Sea [illegible] graphically described by inimitable Charles Lamb, having its importance from the past—yet, unlike the [illegible] Mammon's famous bubble, with the principle of life strong within, and every day growing stronger and stronger—the Old East India House, with its imposing portico, court and committee rooms, numerous other busy-looking rooms for officials and clerks, who seemed to partake of "the genius of the place," with stately porters, or messengers, here, there, and everywhere—soldiers, statesmen, cadets, widows, orphans, and many other supplicants at fortune's gate, all wanting something—"The India House" (as Elia styles it), was a most worthy neighbour of "The Bank and the 'Change;" all three looking forth, as it were, from the world's chief centre of living commerce, bearing the stamp of prosperity on their important faces.*

Let us now look at some of the daily tenants of the Old East India House as they pass quickly by. But first let us survey the two door-porters who stand in the vestibule, who appear to be men of no ordinary importance. The

* The mandate of the all-powerful Court, which had gone forth more than a century before the time of which we write, directing a care to be taken of the dawning military genius of young Clive, was the key to that grand system which ensured a continual supply of most excellent Anglo-Indian soldiers and statesmen. Young civilians, too, from Warren Hastings downwards, had also boasted the tender care of the munificent old East India Company, and become lawyers and statesmen in spite of themselves.

dress is a chocolate-coloured frock-coat, with red collar; red waistcoat with bright silver-plated buttons; black cloth trowsers; cocked hats, not unlike those of the time-honoured beadle's. On court days the door-porters wore over the above suit, a chocolate-coloured cloak, faced with black velvet trimming, and tassels on the sleeves. They also carried wands with silver heads.* The in-door and out-door messengers are numerous; the former attending particularly to the wants of the Directors, and of all suppliants for some favour to be done in the House where charity ever breathed, and nothing was ever deemed impossible; and the latter running messages outside, in every direction about a busy and a noisy world.

In addition to the door-porters, there were, of a higher rank, either five or seven door-keepers; most useful and important functionaries, who would now be called office-keepers.

The head door-porter was then Mr. Toole, the famous toast-master of the City ("The Prince of Toast-masters"), father of the now well-known London Comedian, Mr. J. L. Toole, who has with genuine humour gladdened so many hearts in England and America, making it seem by some of his personations that Momus had really descended among us.

A philosopher now passes by, a tall, thin, stooping figure, with an abstracted look, as if he considered life a farce, although well "worth living," and was determined to tell mankind so some day—great on the subject of Liberty, great in philosophical speculation—yet looking as if he is obliged to confess of Man that he is born but to die, and reasons but to err.† Next comes the tall figure of a well-known popular director, who will tell you all about the mysteries of Buddhism (the old patriarchal system) and ancient India, the imports and exports of the country over which he helps to rule, and in short anything you want to know with equal ease; who will soothe the poor widow's heart by promising a cadetship for her son, "in the finest service in the world," and who is, in spite of a few slight faults,

* On which the arms of the East India Company were engraved.

† "Born but to die, and reasoning but to err."—POPE'S *Essay on Man*.

naturally beloved of all men for his amiable qualities. And now passes by a great director, a man of sound judgment, a former captain of an East Indiaman, which boasted a large tonnage, was low between decks, and had enough copper about her—like the *Vansittart*, or the *Buckinghamshire*, or the *Thomas Coutts*—to give all Leadenhall Street market change of a morning!

But one more notable personage does not escape observation. He is tall, robust, and cheerful-looking. Who can it be but Mr. Thomas Love Peacock, who drew with no ordinary graphic power, portraits of such mighty literati as Lord Byron, Southey, Coleridge, and Shelley! He is now Examiner of India Correspondence,* while the gentleman afore-mentioned, is one of the assistants under him. Such names as those of Charles Lamb, and Love Peacock, as connected with the Old East India House, are not unknown in India. Many civilians and military officers in the service had laughed over *Elia's* joke, or rather reply to the Chairman and Directors of the august Court, when taxed with coming so *late* to his daily work; "but your Honourable Court might take into consideration how *early* I go away!" And Peacock's famous epigram on the clerks of the India House, who were so frequently asking "what's to be done?"—not a likely question in the present times—and finding "nothing to do,"—one of the said clerks being the amiable and witty Charles, who was seldom in time even for the customary breakfast in Leadenhall Street provided for them before 10 A.M.—had also been repeated in India at mess and in cutchery. When Love looks more than usually knowing, as he passes by to go out, the porters whisper to each other, "There goes Love Peacock!" and one of them, who always carries a copy of Pope in his pocket, declares that satire is really his weapon. Once more among the door-keepers, door-porters, and other useful aids to the vast machinery of the Old East India House.

* In 1822 Mr. Peacock was promoted to the staff of the Correspondence Department of the East India Company, and in 1836 he rose to the post of chief Examiner, as successor to James Mill, the historian of British India. Upon his retirement in 1856, John Stuart Mill took his place.

reminds us of a curious fact, which may draw a smile from the economists and calculators of our own time, that it was customary for the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and other high officials appointed to the three presidencies of India, to give the door-keepers sums varying from twenty-five to five pounds. The Governor-General always paid twenty-five; the minor Governors twenty pounds or so, while from twenty to eighteen pounds, was considered cheap for a Commander-in-Chief. What political, commercial, and social changes have taken place since the Old East India House was adorned by so many "old familiar faces!" Change must reign supreme, even although it sometimes seems that the past need fear no comparison with the present or the future.

NOTE.

There is another version of Charles Lambe's *bon mot*, showing Elia's ideas of time, which must be accepted as the correct one:—Sir Robert Campbell, Bart., a director, having met the imperturbable Charles in the corridor of the India House, remonstrated on his always coming so *late* to office. "But, sir," instantly replied *Elia*, "I go away so *early!*" Sir Robert Campbell himself told this to Mr. (now Sir William) Andrew.

THE BROTHERS BURNES.

—o—

I.

SIR ALEXANDER BURNES, C.B.

"L'immense et courageux voyage de M. Burn[illegible]
Bar[illegible]

"Vous avez tracé sur la portion peut-être la p[illegible]
obscure de l'Asie une ligne lumineuse."
Royal Asiatic Society of Paris to Sir [illegible]

The unexpected death of a man possessing [illegible] great qualities as Dr. James Burnes, I am sure [illegible] deep sensation of heartfelt sorrow in Western Ind[illegible] to many in this country. The circumstances attending the feeling of grief differed widely from those which accompanied the loss of his distinguished brother, Sir Alexander. No fearful tragedy at Cabool, or elsewhere, brought about his end. He died in one of our chief cities of industry, in our own glorious land—the physician at length the chief sufferer in a domestic scene of sorrow—far away from the "splendour and havoc of the East."

It has struck me that brief sketches of the careers of the two most distinguished of the family may not be unacceptable to many readers at the present time: standing forth, as the brothers do, in the picture gallery from India, as brilliant examples of energy and goodness, worthy of imitation by all about to enter Her Majesty's Indian Service.

Sir Alexander was born at Montrose, in Scotland, on the 16th May, 1805. After a rather brilliant academical career, the youth, whose great grandfather was brother to the father of Scotland's immortal bard, was appointed a cadet in the Bombay army, and arrived at that Presidency on the 31st October, 1821. In India before he had

reached his twentieth year, his superior talents, industry, and zeal had fully attracted the attention of the authorities; and he soon commenced his career of greatness as Persian interpreter to a force of 8,000 men, assembled for the invasion of Sinde. In 1826 he was appointed a Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General; and at this period he drew up a valuable statistical paper on Wagur, which gained him the thanks of Government, a handsome pecuniary reward, and the high favour of the celebrated Bombay Governor and Indian politician, Mountstuart Elphinstone.

His labours thus approved by those who knew well in what real excellence consisted, afforded proofs of a disposition to combine "the advancement of general knowledge with the exemplary discharge of his official duties."

At the age of twenty-three, his memoir on the eastern mouth of the Indus contributed more information than had ever before been given on that subject; his industry was untiring; and his abilities and exertions, in 1829, drew forth the admiration of that gifted political writer and energetic governor, Sir John Malcolm. The impressions which Sir John had early received of the character of the enterprising and highly-qualified young officer, Lieutenant Burnes, were soon fully confirmed; and when youths at home were just leaving college, the young Indian traveller and politician had already gone a long way on the path to fame.

Passing over many of his early travels and researches—chiefly of a general and geographical character, in some of which he was assisted by Lieutenant James Holland,* a talented and enterprising officer—we come early in the year 1830, to when a present of horses from the King of England to the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, arrived at Bombay. On Burnes' appointment to the political assistancy at Cutch, he had been transferred from the Quartermaster General's department. Along with the royal present came a letter of compliments from Lord Ellenborough, the Minister for India, to the Sikh Chief. The Supreme Government, at the recommendation of Sir John Malcolm, nominated Lieutenant Burnes to proceed to Lahore with the horses and

* Colonel James Holland, *late* Quarter-Master-General, Bombay Army.

letter—"the authorities, both in England and India, conceiving that much information might be derived from such a journey." It was desirable to obtain knowledge regarding everything pertaining to the geography of the Indus. He took with him also presents to the Ameers of Sinde, whose jealousy, shortly after the expedition had moved forth in January, 1831, began to manifest itself in annoying delays and obstructions. But out of evil came good; for these very vexations afforded the enterprising traveller time to make a full survey of all the mouths of the Indus, with maps illustrating the river's course and its various localities. Burnes' reception at Hyderabad, the capital of the Ameers, was hearty and cordial. No small portion of the personal regard with which he was received was owing to the obligation which his skilful and humane brother, Dr. James, had conferred on the Ameer, in curing him of a fever some years before.* A full account of his reception at the Sikh capital of Lahore, where the mission arrived on the 18th July, will be found in "Burnes' Travels into Bokhara," one of the most fascinating books of travel ever published—full of graphic description, and valuable geographical and statistical information—having for its motto the following lines from Horace:—

"Per syrtes iter æstuosas,
. . . . *per inhospitalem*
Caucasum, vel quæ loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes."

At Loodianah, Burnes had met the Ameer of Cabool for the first time; and his views regarding our future ally, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, and Afghan politics in general, began to be formed.

In December, our unwearied traveller visited Kurnaul and Delhi, when he was presented to the Great Mogul, the fifteenth descendant from Timour. If then, how much more now, is the Mogul harmless, "realmless, and a prince without

* *See* Burnes' Travels, and "Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde," by Dr. James Burnes, K.H.—The former had on the title-page, "By Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, F.R.S., of the India Company's Service."

the shadow of power!"* Central Asia having to be explored, the sanction of the Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck) gained, the journey was commenced on the 2nd January, 1832. The route taken was that along the line of the Sutlej, till the river is joined by the Beas or Hydaspes. But, leaving the consideration of such matters to the readers of his famous book of travels, let us proceed to June, 1833, when Burnes received orders to proceed to England as the bearer of his own despatches. The fame of his adventures had long preceded him. The Montrose youth had done wonders in an incredibly short space of time. Lord William Bentinck wrote to the Court of Directors, that "the Government of India considered the information of Lieutenant Burnes as to the state of the countries betwixt India and Russia of such primary importance, that it should be communicated direct to the home authorities by that gentleman himself." He arrived in London early in October, after a few months' voyage round the Cape.

Ambition seemed satisfied. By the India House and by the Board of Control, he was most cordially received as a true British son from the East, who had done real service to his country. At Court he received marked consideration, and afterwards the special acknowledgments of William the Fourth, for the "unpublished map and memoir which he had presented to his Majesty." Eventually, Burnes' manuscripts passed into the hands of the far-famed John Murray, the publisher, whose *dictum*, that "every man has a book in him," was of peculiar value in the case of the great Oriental traveller. Such a book of travels had not appeared for many a day. Nearly nine hundred copies were sold off in a single day; and the publisher gave the author eight hundred pounds for the copyright of the first edition. Mr. Lockhart (editor of the *Quarterly*, and the tasteful producer of the Spanish ballads) called on Lieutenant Burnes, and told him that it surpassed in interest any book

* When this sketch had gone to press, I learned that the last of the Great Moguls, the King of Delhi, died at Rangoon on the 11th of November, 1862, and was buried the same day—the Mahomedans in the town heedless of the event.

of travels he had ever read. It was translated into German and French. The critic's art was impartially exercised in every influential quarter; and, in addition to his qualifications as a very keen traveller, it was added, with reference to governing the affairs of an Indian Empire, that one had appeared "in every respect well qualified to tread in the steps of our Malcolms and Elphinstones."

Burnes was now elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, when all the honours were heaped upon him which that brilliant association could bestow. The Bombay lieutenant was the lion of the day. The Earl of Munster, President of the above Society, so appreciated the value of his work that he reviewed it in the *United Service Journal*, where it is remarked that "the reflection that [illegible]nes is the first European, for twenty-one centuries [illegible] has sailed the whole length of the Indus, naturally excites inquiry as to existing traditions of its first great navigator." He was complimented by Baron Humbolt, by the Institute of France, and by the Royal Asiatic Society of Paris, and had the silver medal of the French Geographical Society bestowed upon him. He was already a member, and had received the gold medal, of the Royal Geographical Society of London.

From Paris he writes to his brother:—"The French critics give me even greater praise than the English. Is it not curious? I have been reviewed in France, Germany, Russia, and England, and not yet in my native country" (Scotland, alluding to the *Edinburgh Review*).*

Louis Philippe, hearing he was in Paris, sent the ever indefatigable Lord Brougham in search of him, that he might confer on him the decoration of the Legion of Honour, which his Majesty desired to do with his own hands. Still, some of the critics were *at* him for certain trifling defects; but we find him in good humour—as he might well be—declaring in the sincerity of his heart, "In all truth, I have got enough praise."

* Almost simultaneously with the Bokhara travels, appeared the short memoir of the journey of 1829, into the desert between Cutch and the Indus.

The great traveller, geographer, and commercial statist, at the age of twenty-nine, was waited on by some of the most distinguished men at that time in London. The Marquis of Lansdowne held out his hand to him; and not long before his departure for India, gave a farewell party, where Lords Howick, Morpeth, Auckland, the present Earl Russell, and the witty Sidney Smith, were among the guests. Lord Brougham—the ever steady friend of progress—thought highly of the opinion entertained of him by the philosophers of France. Burnes became, too, the lion of the hour at the literary soirées of Holland House. Such attention no lieutenant in any age had ever received before. It was enough to turn the head of any ordinary mortal; but the subaltern was *extra ordinary*, and survived it.

After declining Lord Ellenborough's offer of the Secretaryship to the Legation to the Court of Persia (eventually to become British Minister at the Court of Teheran), he laughs at Persia and her politics, and declares—"What are a colonelcy and a K.L.S. to me? I look far higher, and shall either die or be so." India was his chosen field of action. Of Sir John M'Neill (afterwards Ambassador at Teheran) he says, before leaving England, "He is an able fellow, and by far the fittest person in England for the situation." Burnes left London, with a "flaming despatch" from the Court of Directors in his pocket, on the 5th April, 1835, reaching India on the 1st June, by France, Egypt, and the Red Sea. On his arrival in Bombay he resumed his duties of assistant to the Resident at Cutch, Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Pottinger. Truly, the Governor-General (Lord Auckland) thought that Captain Burnes' abilities were wasted in such a situation. He was placed under the orders of the Supreme Government with a view to his future progress. A line of policy, it was determined in August, 1836, beyond the Indus was to be pursued. The young captain was appointed the head of a mission, the object of which was negociation with the Ameers of Sinde for the protection of the free navigation of the Indus. From Hyderabad * he was to proceed through the Punjab,

* Reached 18th of January, 1837.

by Attock and Cashmere to Cabool, and (the mission being a purely commercial one) to enter into commercial arrangements with Dost Mahomed. Events on the Persian frontier soon changed the character of the mission. Sir John M'Neill and Captain Burnes became in close communication with each other. Enquiries as to the state of trade were soon to give place to the question of how to be prepared for war! Burnes was satisfied that could the Persians succeed against Herat, Candahar would be at their mercy. But other matters of greater importance to the rising political were about to occur. With the view of interposing the mediation of the Indian Government betwixt Dost Mahomed and Runjeet Singh, in order to extend commerce and avert a war, Captain Burnes was instructed to proceed to Cabool. The mission entered the Khyber Pass on the 3rd September, 1837, and, on the 20th, Burnes entered Cabool escorted by Mahomed Akbar Khan, the favourite son of Dost Mahomed.

The remaining events in Burnes' life may be said to be matters of history. On the 1st October, 1838, Lord Auckland issued his famous proclamation of war. In November, the Ruler of the Punjab and the Governor-General had long interviews together at Ferozepore; but the Envoy for Cabool was to be Sir William MacNaghten and not Captain Burnes. There can be no doubt that Burnes was in every way qualified for such a post. We were about to invade strange countries which *he* knew well, and to impose an obnoxious sovereign on a fierce and determined people. While Burnes was arranging for the reception of the army at Shikarpore, he received a copy of the Government *Gazette*, in which he found himself knighted and advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army. He was also made Companion of the Bath.

It is curious to notice that, while Burnes was on a political mission in Beloochistan about this time, making arrangements connected with the expedition, the Khan of Khelat remarked to him that it was easy to get our armies into the country, but *how were we ever to get them out again?* On the final restoration of the Shah Soojah, in September, 1839, Burnes was appointed political resident at

Cabool; and he continued to act along with the Envoy there till the hour of his death.

Dr. Buist, who compiled the best memoir of Sir Alexander from printed books and papers, says forcibly:—"The Cabool tragedy opened with the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes; it has closed by the annihilation of a force which, including camp followers, amounted to from 12,000 to 15,000 men." Sir Alexander repeatedly warned the Government of the approaching crisis, and the catastrophe which proved fatal to him and so many of his countrymen; "and was among the first who fell in the Ghilzie insurrection, in November," 1841; his younger brother, Lieutenant Charles Burnes,* perishing along with him." Truly we may say with the French reviewer†—"Comment ne pas envier à l'Angleterre ces agens intrépides, qu'elle trouve toujours prêts à se dévouer à son service!"—And so here I conclude this brief sketch of Sir Alexander Burnes, in the words of the learned and esteemed biographer;‡ "carried off in the prime of life—'only thirty-six years old, so young, yet so much already done for immortality;' so much time remaining, as it appeared to us short-sighted mortals, to maintain and to extend his fame." In my humble judgment, it may be added, he shines as a great geographer and useful traveller more than as a great politician. Objections may be taken to some actions of his policy—what public servant escapes them? But who will dare not to admire the British traveller who first beheld "the scenes of Alexander's wars, of the rude and savage inroads of Jenghiz and Timour, as well as of the campaigns and revelries of Baber, as given in the delightful and glowing language of his commentaries?" "In the journey to the coast," writes Sir Alexander, "we had marched on the very line of route by which Alexander had pursued Darius; while the voyage to India took us on the coast of Mekran and the track of his admiral Nearchus."§

* On the 2nd. † *Revue de Paris*, Octobre, 1844.

‡ George Buist, Esq., LL.D.—1842.

§ The omissions in the foregoing sketch, of a most distinguished Anglo-Indian, will be partly supplied by citing the following interesting passages illustrating the esteem in which he was held, and exhibiting some distinctive points in the character of Sir Alexander Burnes.

NOTES CHARACTERISIC OF SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

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THE ATHENÆUM CLUB.

On his return to London from Paris, the Athenæum Club admitted him as a member without ballot, and the following notice of this is given in a letter dated January, 1835:—"The Athenæum Club has elected me over the heads of 1,130 candidates as a member, on account, as they are pleased to say, of my 'distinguished eminence.' I took my place yesterday, and you will judge of the club when I name the first men I met—Hallam, Sir G. Staunton, Sydney Smith, D'Israeli, Crawford of Java, &c."

ESTEEMED BY EMINENT MILITARY OFFICERS AND MERCHANTS

It may here be not inaptly remarked how completely the clear judgment, energy, and decision of character of Sir Alexander Burnes won the confidence and esteem of all the most eminent military officers with whom, during his career in India, he was associated. Sir David Leighton, Sir Thomas Bradford, Sir John Malcolm, Lord William Bentinck, the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Henry Fane, and Lord Keane—admired and appreciated qualities in him which had rendered themselves among the most distinguished of their noble profession. The celerity with which he prepared himself for his exertions in the cause of geographical science is one of the most conspicuous characteristics of his earlier career. Of the various commercial reports drawn up by him, and laid from time to time before the Bombay Government, it was remarked by the merchants who examined them that they were written as if by one who had been a trader, and nothing but a trader, from his youth. His controversy with the missionary Wole indicated a knowledge of theology, and dexterity in polemics not frequently found amongst military men.

DISTINCTION.

To these high qualities for the attainment of distinction he added a deep-seated and indomitable ambition, which no difficulties could damp or subdue. He had determined on achieving greatness, and he appeared to have the means within his reach, when it pleased Providence to cut short his earthly career. He was judicious and eminently fortunate in his selection of coadjutors, and had the happy faculty of attaching those who had laboured along with him most fervently to his person. He was simple in his manners, and for the most part sprightly and playful in his conversation, with alternating fits of absence and abstraction. His friendships were warm, enduring, and sincere. Not easily soured by disappointment, he submitted with the cheerful alacrity of a well-conditioned mind to the annoyances which came in his way. He was one of the kindest of brothers and most dutiful and affectionate of sons. Had he not been cut off in the flower of his age, at the very time when he had reason to believe that his deferred hopes of enjoying the highest position in Afghanistan were about to be realized, he might have looked forward to the attainment of honours such as those conferred on a Malcolm and an Elphinstone, with whose names his own had been so often associated, and in whose estimation he so early held a distinguished place.

BURNES WELL IN HARNESS.

"On the Indus, 5th July, 1837.—I am literally overwhelmed with business. I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys, and examine passes of mountains, and likewise certainly to see into affairs, to judge of what was to be done hereafter; but the hereafter has already arrived, and I have all but deserted my ledger for treaties and politics; my proceedings up to Shikarpore you are aware of. As I approached Cabool war broke out with the Afghans and Sikhs, and my position became embarrassing; I was even ordered by express to pause, and while hanging on my oars another express still cries—pause, but places a vast latitude in my hands, and 'forward' is my motto; forward to the scene of carnage, where, instead of embarrassing my Government, I feel myself in a situation to do good. It is this latitude throughout life that has made me what I am, if I am anything, and I can hardly say how grateful I feel to

Lord Auckland. I have not as yet got the replies to my recommendations on our line of policy in Cabool consequent on a discovered intrigue of Russia, and on the Cabool chief throwing himself in despair on Perso-Russian arms. I have at last something to do, and I hope to do it well."

BURNES AND DOST MAHOMED.*

"CABOOL, 30th October, 1837.—Here a hundred things are passing of the highest interest. I arrived here on the 24th of last month, and have had a very cordial reception. Dost Mahomed Khan has fallen into all our views, and in so doing has either thought for himself or followed my counsel, but for doing the former I give him every credit, and things now stand so that I think we are on the threshold of a negotiation with King Runjeet, the basis of which will be his withdrawal from Peshawur, and a Barukzye receiving it as a dependency of Lahore, the Chief of Cabool sending his son to Persian. What say you to this after all that has been urged of Dost Mahomed Khan's putting forth extragant pretensions? Runjeet will accede to the plan I am certain, but Wade is a great little man, if you comprehend what I mean, and while he is looking to the horizon (to use his own words) of politics and considering, events crowd on, and spoil his speculations. I have, on behalf of Government, agreed to stand as mediator between the parties, and Dost Mahomed has cut asunder all his connection with Russia and Persia, and refused to receive the ambassador from the Shah now at Candahar; his brothers at that city have, however, caressed the Persian Elchee all the more for this, and I have sent them such a Junius as I believe will astonish them. I had indeed reason to act promptly, for they have a son setting out for Teheran with presents to the Shah and the Russian Ambassador, and I hope I shall be in time to explain our hostility to such conduct. Everything here has indeed run well, and but for our deputation at the time it happened, the house we occupy would have been tenanted by a Russian Agent and a Persian Elchee. I hardly know what the Government of India will think of my measures, for my line of conduct is only indicated by them, not marked out. Yet I am inspirited by their free use of laudatory adjectives regarding my proceed-

* This and the following extract will be of interest at the present time (1874-75), for after the Ameer of Cabul was said to have imprisoned his eldest son, Yakoob Khan, for his inclination to give over Herat to the Persians.

ings hitherto; . . . I am in a very critical position, and so they tell me—*totidem verbis*;—but I like difficulties, they are my brandy."

HERAT AND THE CZAR.

"I HAVE found out all the ramifications of the Czar's emissaries, and an explanation of his coveting Herat. His Majesty sees that that is the entrepôt of Persia, India, Cabool, and Toorkistan, and as his fairs in southern Persia progress to maturity, he looks to increasing the facilities of communication, and from Herat to Bokhara and Nijni Novgorod there are no intervening mountains. In pushing on Persia to Herat he but insinuates his own power in the very direction he desires. All this view of things was gravely propounded at Bokhara the year after I left it, for the Russians took alarm at what we were about, and reduced their duties to keep the traders with them. Is not this something to have been effected by two weary travellers plodding their way into Tartary!"—From "Memoir" by Dr. Buist; in "Notes on His Name and Family," by Dr. James Burnes. 1851.—[For correspondence with Lord Palmerston, see Appendix I.]

AFGHANISTAN.

(1886.)

IN his last work on Burma (Ashé Pyee, the Eastern or Foremost Country), about the middle of 1881, the author ventured a few remarks on the prospect of a United Afghanistan being followed by a United Burma. Putting the turbulent and "invincible" Dacoits out of the question, the great event with reference to the latter kingdom has at length taken place. Regarding the wilder country in which Burnes, Macnaghten, Pollock, Nott, Sale, and Roberts laboured and fought for the glory of old England, it was written five years ago—when Merv was the political difficulty between England and Russia:—The Ameer has secured Herat, and the prospect of a United Afghanistan seems not far distant. Of course some of the unruly tribes will still give trouble; but a turbulent and stormy sea does not settle down all at once. "Give him time," every well-wisher of the country must say of Abdul Rahman. Anyway, there is

a comparative calm for the present, and our late brave and energetic enemy, Ayub Khan, is a fugitive.

The hope of "a united Afghanistan" has not been realized, although we have "a united Burma;" so much the better for humanity, commerce and civilization in Eastern Asia. We gave King Thebaw too much "time," and were at length compelled to annex his country. Abdul Rahman, under British protection, has played his part, on the whole, well. If he be not real, a better actor we never had before. In the middle of 1886 we find him in good health, and his son betrothed to the daughter of an important Governor (of Farrah). Later on we find the Ameer dreading the possible recall of the English Commission of Delimitation—commenced under the august auspices of Sir Peter Lumsden, —and, it was believed, meditating an attack on Kafiristan. Again, there was a talk of a collision between Afghans and Russians at or near the disputed boundary. But the nearest Russian troops were no closer than Mazar, where Sir J. W. Ridgeway—the head of the Commission—was making a visit to Ishak Khan. The Ameer was in hopes that the whole boundary would soon be settled, and had received "very favourable" assurances from Russia—Russia, our dear old "bugbear"—whose continued beneficial results in Central Asia should make us love him more dearly than ever—

> "Whom Persia bows to, China ill confines,
> And India's homage waits, when Albion's star declines!"*
>
> CAMPBELL.—On the Power of Russia.

* Meanwhile, while Albion's star is in the ascendant, the Ameer will probably now turn his attention to Indian railway enterprise, and the beneficent operation on Afghanistan, railways must certainly accomplish. On September 11, Sir J. Gorst informed the House of Commons that the railway through the Bolan Pass reached Quetta on the 26th July last. The Harnai route was under construction, and preliminary surveys had been made beyond Quetta in the direction of Candahar. Mr. Condie Stephen, Secretary to the Afghan Boundary Commission, arrived in London in September, 1886; and his chief, Sir J. Ridgeway, on his return to India, will also visit London, we presume, to give an account of the doings of the Commission, which reached Cabul on the 15th October.

II.

JAMES BURNES, K.H., F.R.S.*

"He finds 'mid foreign crowds a friend,
A home 'neath every sky."—D. L. R.

Born at Montrose, February 12, 1801, Dr. Burnes was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and Guy's and Saint Thomas's Hospitals in London, and arrived at Bombay in the Company's service, with his brother, the late Sir Alexander, on the 31st October, 1821.

The early career of Dr. Burnes can be traced from an official report drawn up under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, and which was subsequently submitted to his Majesty King William the Fourth. After having been successively attached to the artillery at Matoonga; the Convalescent Hospital at Severndroog: the 5th regiment Madras Native Infantry at Malligaum—the three previous Medical Officers of which had died of cholera; and the 24th regiment Bombay N.I. at Bassadore; he was posted in February, 1823, to the 18th regiment N.I. stationed at Bombay, where he was also selected to superintend the institution for the check of cholera. In 1824, the honourable appointment of surgeon to the Residency in Cutch having been offered by Mr. Elphinstone for competition, as a reward to medical officers who would pass in the native language, Dr. Burnes was the one of the five candidates who was successful. On his quitting the 18th regiment, we find him commended in orders for "his professional abilities, humanity, and feeling towards the sick, and his constant and unwearied attention to his duties."†

* The chief portion of this sketch is abridged from the "Memoir," by W. A. Laurie, Esq. (March, 1850), who wrote it while Dr. Burnes was on his return to his native land. This brief record was extracted from Indian periodicals, and "Memoirs" on the same subject, by Drs. Grant, of Calcutta, and Buist, of Bombay.

† Regimental Order, November 18th, 1824.

As a volunteer he accompanied, in 1825, the field force and detachments which expelled the Sindians and other plunderers who had invaded and devastated Cutch, forcing the British Brigade to retire to the Hill-fort of Bhooj. In 1827, the Ameers of Sinde, between whom and our Government a very uncordial feeling had subsisted for years, unexpectedly solicited his services, and sent an Envoy to invite him to their capital, where he remained some months under circumstances which will be best explained by the following extract of an official dispatch from the Resident in Cutch, Sir Henry Pottinger, to Government (Political Department, No. 19 of 1828):—"The Honourable the Governor-in-Council will perceive that Mr. Burnes was only finally allowed by the Ameers of Sinde to come away under a promise of his early return; and although the unsettled state of that country has since led to their Highnesses requesting him to postpone his visit; yet, from the terms in which they speak of Dr. Burnes (who, they say, is not only the most skilful of all Physicians, but their best friend, and the cementer of the bonds of amity between the two governments), it is pretty certain they will again invite him to their Court. . . . . It is due to their Highnesses to mention that they have treated Mr. Burnes, during his sojourn at Hyderabad, with the most marked distinction and kindness, both as a professional gentleman to whom they were indebted for advice, and as an officer of the British Government deputed in that capacity, at their special request. In the latter light they received him, on his first arrival, in a State Durbar, with every honour and formality, and afterwards made him welcome at all times, with a degree of cordiality and politeness which, as the Native agent justly observes in his letter to me, 'they have never before evinced towards any gentleman.'"

The Government sanctioned Dr. Burnes' acceptance of liberal presents from the Ameers, and also presented him with a handsome pecuniary donation on his return to Bhooj. He was likewise complimented, in strong terms, on the zeal and ability he had displayed at Hyderabad, and received the thanks of the Government for the highly interesting narra-

tive of his visit, which, under the orders of the Resident in Cutch, he had submitted for its information. The Governor personally intimated that but for the good use he had made of his time, much that was important would have remained unknown and unnoticed. The Commander-in-Chief pronounced the narrative a most valuable addition to the geography of India; and the Governor of Bombay directed it to be presented to the Royal Asiatic Society through Sir John Malcolm, circulated to public servants, and printed at the expense of the State. The "Narrative of a Visit to Sinde" drew from the Geographical Society of France a declaration that Dr. Burnes had deserved well of Geography.* It was published in England in 1830, and has gone through successive editions, both in India and in Europe; being the best account of the country we yet possess.

Dr. Burnes' invitation by the Ameers, and his visit to their Court, were evidently the first link in the chain of those great events which took place in reference to the Indus; and it is not at all improbable that had the request of those rulers to retain him, which has been referred to in the official dispatch above quoted, been complied with, much of the trouble and expense which were incurred, might have been spared. But it did not suit the policy of the day; and it was not till two years afterwards that his brother was deputed again to open a negotiation with the Ameers, and to ascend the Indus. Those who are familiar with that officer's travels, will recollect that the Ameers stated that he was doubly welcome as the brother of Dr. James Burnes. Sir Alexander Burne's visit was followed by Sir Henry Pottinger's Embassy in 1832-3, for the purpose of demanding the free navigation of the Indus to British merchants, and the great events to the west, with which we are familiar.

* M. Alexandre Burnes, Lieutenant d'Infanterie de la compagnie Anglaise des Indes, est frère de M. James Burnes, Chirurgien-Major à Bhoudj dans le Cotch. Ce dernier fut appelé en 1827, à Haiderabad, pour donner ses soins à un des Emirs. Il a publié une relation de son voyage. Ainsi les deux frères ont bien mérité de la géographie, en nous donnant des détails sur des pays peu connus.—Bulletin of the Geographical Society of France, 1833.

In 1829, Dr. Burnes married Sophia, daughter of the late Major-General Sir George Holmes, K.C.B.

In 1830, the same reputation in the north-west frontier which had induced the Ameers of Sinde to invite and welcome Dr. Burnes to their capital, led to the Cutch Regency bringing his conduct and services specially to the notice of Government, with a request that they might have the power to remunerate them. He had now been nearly five years in that lately conquered and distracted country; and such was the feeling towards him, that the Resident reported, in the words of the Cutch government, that "there was no one of any class or rank who would not, if sick, reckon upon his services at midnight." * The reply of the Bombay government is in the following terms:—"The Governor-in-Council directs me to signify to you his concurrence in the proposal of the Durbar to remunerate the professional services of Dr. Burnes, and requests that, in making this communication to the Durbar, you will suggest the mode in which the object in view can be effected with most attention to the feelings of the Prince and his family, and to those of Mr. Burnes, whose kind and unwearied attention, which the honourable the Governor (Sir John Malcolm) has had full opportunity of learning, has, the Governor-in-Council is aware, created the most lively sentiments of gratitude, while it has established, in the strongest manner, his claims to the approbation of Government."

Nearly of the same date is a Government letter to the Resident at Bhooj, acknowledging Dr. Burnes' "History of Cutch," which has since been published, along with his Narrative, and may be found in a compressed form in the last edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

In December, 1831, we find Sir Henry Pottinger, on his departure as Envoy to Sinde, reporting to Government that, in "consideration of the long connection which has subsisted between Dr. Burnes and himself, he will be excused for bearing testimony to his merits and claims, and strongly recommending him to favourable notice." And in

* Letter to Government, Political Department, January 27th, 1830.

April following, there is a dispatch from the new Resident, Colonel Ragnold, which acknowledges that "in conducting the important duties of the frontier," he has "derived the most valuable assistance from his exertions, talents, and information, afforded by him gratuitously, and to the benefit of the public service, in a department distinct from his own, and consequently the more highly to be appreciated." At the end of the same year, Dr. Burnes' services were again brought to notice as having, in the political department, "amply evinced the greatest zeal and ability for the public service." Other quotations might be made from the papers we have referred to, but enough has been given to satisfy the reader that these services were neither few nor unacknowledged by his superiors.

In October, 1833, Dr. Burnes was forced to quit Cutch, on sick certificate, after having struggled with the fever of the country for many years. In the February following, he embarked for Europe by the overland route, and an interesting account of the journey (at that time attended with some difficulty), extracted from his letters, was published in the Bombay newspapers. He took the route of Malta, Sicily, Naples, Rome, Florence, Venice, Geneva, and Paris. While at home, amongst other honours conferred on him, he was created a Doctor of Laws by the University of Glasgow, and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. He was also presented at Court by his friend the late Earl of Dalhousie (who had then returned from the command of the army of India), and received the honour of the Guelphic Knighthood from the sovereign.

On again returning to Edinburgh to make preparations for his departure to India, a public entertainment was given to him, Lord Ramsay* in the chair, when he received the present of a magnificent silver vase, bearing, besides a Masonic inscription, an intimation that it was a token of "regard and esteem for him as a gentleman." The committee for its presentation consisted of the Marquis of Dalhousie, Admiral Sir David Milne, G.C.B., Sir George

* Afterwards the Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor-General of India.

Ballingall, Professor of Military Surgery in the University, Sir Reginald Macdonald Seton, better known as the hospitable "Staffa," and other individuals. Before quitting Edinburgh, he devoted a few leisure hours to his sketch of the History of the Knights Templars, having been encouraged to undertake the work by offers of valuable documents in the possession of old and noble families, and especially requested to leave amongst his friends some such token of remembrance. The book was brought out in a very elegant form; but only a few copies, besides those for distribution amongst private friends, were printed. It contains illustrations of the curious fact mentioned in "Mills's Chivalry," that the Order of the Templars has descended to our own days; and traces the history of these Knights, and of those of St. John of Jerusalem, in Scotland. A great portion of his stay in Europe was devoted to visiting the countries on the continent, and we believe that he had seen and communicated with more of the eminent men of the present day than any other individual from India.

On the 24th December, 1837, Dr. Burnes returned to Bombay; and Sir James Carnac conferred on him, unsolicited, the first vacant medical staff appointment in his gift, namely, the Garrison Surgeoncy of Bombay. In Calcutta, as in Bombay, Dr. Burnes was received as the best friend of masonry, of which nothing need be said here.

In a memoir drawn up in the City of Palaces, Dr. Grant writes—"Dr. Burnes has seen much of the world, and his manners and conversation at once give the impression of one who had observed well and benefited by what he had seen and learned; being pleasing, winning, and of a reflective cast. It has been truly said of old, that a good countenance is a perpetual letter of recommendation; and no one who has once seen Dr. Burnes can deny that he bears this enviable missive with him wherever he goes. A family resemblance may be traced in features and occasional turns of expression and manners between himself and his distinguished brother Sir Alexander, but there are, nevertheless, characteristic points of difference. Sir Alexander, when we

had the pleasure of seeing him, looked spare and thin compared with his brother; not that Dr. Burnes is exactly anything approaching to a 'stout gentleman,' but he has less angularity of feature and frame than the enterprising traveller and keen politician. The one is sharp, quick, and rapidly decisive, expressive, and penetrating. The other, though full of energy in any matter he engages in, is more subdued in manner and expression, and his bearing more fraught with amenity. Sir Alexander, for instance, in an argument, uses a sword-like logic that he thrusts at once, and with a masculine hand, to the point. The argumentative weapon of the other too, is 'of the ice-brook's temper,' and of a perfect point and polish, but is like that of Harmodius wreathed with flowers. Both have a marked frankness of address.

"That Dr. Burnes is a person of singularly attractive manners and disposition no one who has ever enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance can question for an instant; and a more triumphant proof of this cannot be appealed to than the warmth of his reception by not only the Masonic body of Calcutta, but society at large, so far as he could become known to it during his short stay among us. It has appeared to us that a portion of this attractiveness is hereditary; for the full dark eye, the well-arched brow, expressive mouth, and, in a word, the whole countenance, when lighted up in the brilliance of congenial social intercourse, have often reminded us of the best portraits, graphic and biographic, of his great kinsman the poet."

Dr. Burnes returned from Calcutta* early in 1841, having been requested by Sir James Carnac, then Governor of Bombay, to undertake the office of Secretary to the Medical Board, a post in which it was thought he would be able to afford much benefit to his own department. In that year he presided at the St. Andrew's dinner; but, owing to the deplorable Cabool catastrophe, in which his brothers lost their lives, he remained for sometime afterwards in retirement. His next prominent appearance was on the occasion of his laying the foundation-stone of the Jamsetjee

* From a visit paid in 1840.

Jeejeebhoy Hospital, which ceremony excited a great sensation at Bombay in January, 1843. In December, 1844, he established the Lodge "Rising Star," for the admission of natives, and a beautiful medal, cut by Wyon, was struck by them in consequence.* In August, 1844, he presided at the dinner given to Sir Henry Pottinger. In July, 1845, he was promoted to be Superintending Surgeon, and a piece of plate was voted to him by his brother officers, "in manifestation of their esteem, and the sense they entertain of his accelerating promotion, and of the uniform urbanity which he, in his official position, evinced on all occasions, in his intercourse with all ranks." On quitting the Medical Board Office, the Board brought to the notice of Government the "distinguished zeal and ability" with which he had performed his duty for five and a half years; and in handing up this testimonial, the Commander-in-Chief stated from himself, that "for several years he had had constant opportunities of having officially under his own notice the untiring zeal and great ability with which Dr. Burnes performed his varied duties in the most stirring times ever known at this Presidency in the Medical Branch, and in all the Military Departments."

In February, 1847, Dr. Burnes was transferred to the Poona Division, where he remained until his promotion to the Medical Board in September, 1848. Shortly after his arrival at Bombay, he was appointed a Member of the Board of Education; and the interest he took in its business is best shown by his addresses at the Grant College; by his successful efforts for the student apprentices; and by the Board, having on his departure, recorded "its deep regret at the loss of his valuable services, particularly in the department of Native Medical Education, to which he has devoted so much attention, and wherein his rare talents and extensive experience have enabled him to act with such marked

* The Hindus paying this honour to Burnes reminds us of the Duchess of Devonshire's beautiful lines on Sir W. Jones; the first two being—

"Admired and valued in a distant land,
His gentle manners all affection won."

efficacy;" a regret in which the Government expressed its entire participation. The Medical Board also intimated to Government their deep regret that ill health was about to deprive the Medical Service of an officer who had been "so long its pride and ornament, and of whose honourable career and eminent merits the public records bore such ample testimony."

He was one of the Trustees of the Oriental Bank, and a warm promoter of the schemes for the promotion and encouragement of arts and manufactures, in an improved form, among the natives. He was also President of the Medical and Physical Society, and Vice-President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It may be added, that, before his departure the Geographical Society of Bombay elected him an Honorary Office-Bearer for life, "in testimony of their appreciation of his services to the cause of Geographical Science."

Though Dr. Burnes rarely appeared before the world as an author, his tastes were eminently refined and literary, and his mind abundantly stored with general knowledge. The account of his visit to the Court of Hyderabad sufficiently shows what might have been looked for from his pen had he found leisure or inclination to write for publication. He ever took an active share in the promotion of all intellectual pursuits, and was one of the most elegant and most attractive members of general society in Western India. Fond of company, in which he was always the favourite, and where he eminently shone, he was the person most generally fixed upon to preside at public meetings and do the honours when entertainments were given to distinguished strangers or members of the community; and his address on the occasion of a public dinner being given to Sir H. Pottinger on his way from China, was so marked for elegance and aptitude, as to be reprinted in all the leading journals of Europe. The eminent official position he so long enjoyed in the service to which he was an honour, was always employed by him in endeavouring to advance merit and promote unpretending worth — to assist the necessitous and soothe those heats and irritations which will occasionally arise in the best regulated

communities, and which tend so grievously to impair the comfort of public men and to interfere with the interests of the service. As a private friend he was ever warm, constant, and sincere in his attachments. Though generally to be met with in every scene of harmless merriment, gaiety, or festivity, no man more frequently approached the couch of sickness or chamber of suffering—none could strive more to soothe the pangs of sorrow or anguish of affliction. He left India almost without an enemy, and with scarcely an acquaintance who was not also an admirer and a friend.

In G. O., by the Right Hon. the Governor-in-Council (19th Nov. 1849), allowing him to retire,* his eminently useful services were brought forward, announcing that his services extended beyond the line of his own profession; and the same zealous devotion to the public interests was apparent in those which "distinguished him throughout his meritorious career in the medical department."†

Since 1850, Dr. Burnes chiefly resided in London, making occasional visits to his native town of Montrose. He was a magistrate for the counties of Middlesex and Forfar. With regard to his native county, Lord Brougham had inscribed his name in the roll of Justices—a remarkable compliment, at a time when no new commission was issued, to a visitor from India, who possessed no property in the shire. The compliment had been continued since the accession of Her Majesty.

In 1851, he drew up an elegant little work, entitled "Notes on his Name and Family," printed for private circulation. On the title-page figures the crest which he obtained from the Herald office, in allusion to the devotion to their country shown by his two brothers. Out of a mural crown—the rim inscribed CABOOL—a demi-eagle is displayed transfixed by a javelin; and round the whole is the appropriate motto: OB PATRIAM VULNERA PASSI.

In addition to being an able writer,‡ Dr. Burnes was an eloquent and impressive speaker; but, on his return home, he seldom appeared in public. At the influential meeting

* As Physician-General of the Bombay Army.

† Here ends abridgement of "Memoir." ‡ *See* Appendix H.

held on the 5th March, 1861, to do honour to that distinguished soldier and statesman, Sir James Outram, he made a most eloquent speech, from which I take the following remarks on the career of the Bayard of the East:—

"I am possibly in a somewhat different position from other speakers, inasmuch as I have passed the best days of my life in the same public service with him, and in daily observation of him. And having watched his career throughout—the truthfulness of his character and indomitable courage that early brought him into notice—the energy and tenderness with which he brought to God and man, while yet a youth, the wild Bheels of the jungle (in my opinion the noblest of his achievements)—his wondrous pursuit of the Afghan Ameer, Dost Mahomed, and perilous escape afterwards from Khelat through hostile tribes to the sea-coast—the heroic part he took in the defence of the Hyderabad Residency—with the other varied incidents of his stirring life, all showing abnegation of self, with an uncompromising resolve to do his duty—up to the time he startled Europe, though not so much India, by his magnanimity in making place for an illustrious comrade—an act which reminds us of some of those recorded of the great Condé—(cheers)—and completed his military exploits at Lucknow to enter the Supreme Council—I look upon him as the model of the high-minded public servant, whether soldier or statesman—the man whom parents may urge their sons to follow, the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, as happily applied to him by Sir Charles Napier, and as so completely realising the classical descriptions just given by a new and eloquent historian of another great warrior and statesman, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, that the words might be inscribed on the pedestal of his statue—'UNTIRING, UNCOMPLAINING, THOUGHTFUL OF OTHERS, PRODIGAL OF SELF, GENEROUS, MODEST, BRAVE.'" (Much cheering.)*

The death of Dr. Burnes' eldest son, occasioned by a noble act of self-devotement during the Indian mutiny, brought him no common sorrow. The doctor was twice

* See also Appendix III.—Sir James Outram.

married—his brother Alexander, never. And there was every prospect of our hero's attaining "a green old age," when he sickened and died* at Manchester, on the 19th September, 1862, regretted by all who knew him.

"After life's fitful fever
He sleeps well!"——

He who was perhaps, reader, "thine own friend, and thy father's friend." Like all that is mortal, he had his faults: he was, throughout his career, too fond of distinction (by some considered a virtue); his zeal for a friend or relative, a few may think, occasionally led him too far in the business; but, take him for all in all, he was a noble specimen of humanity. And, while I pay this imperfect tribute to his memory, with his intelligent features beaming from a portrait before me, I think of those he endeavoured to serve, recalling to mind the beautiful poem with the line—so applicable towards the close of every year—

"Who has not lost a friend?"

DR. BURNES AS A MASON.

Some able men, who knew him well, especially in Bombay, are inclined to think that Dr. Burnes was most distinguished as a Mason. He certainly shone as a bright, particular star, among the brethren of the "mystic tie;" and nowhere did he seem more in his element than when—to use the words of his kinsman the poet—"honoured with supreme command," he "presided o'er the sons of light." Masonry with him, as with too many, was not a mere name. He put his whole soul into the business, and thoroughly believed in its Godlike nature to produce good fellowship among men. If his brother, Sir Alexander, may be styled the most wonderful traveller, Dr. James has an equal right to be considered the most energetic and brilliant Mason that ever came to India. But in whatever he undertook, the subject of the foregoing sketch proved himself to be an able and well-read man, although, from the nature of his profession debarred from the same opportunities, not so distinguished as his brother. The following passage displays no

* From the effects of disease of long standing, contracted in India.

ordinary ability. It is from a speech on the "India Question," delivered at the Court of Proprietors of India Stock, 27th January, 1858 :—

A NATIVE OF INDIA.—THE SEPOYS.

"A native of India has no notion of political rights; his forefathers had none, and he cannot comprehend their being yielded to him except from a cowardly terror of himself. Such concessions, in fact, are diametrically opposed to his conception of the dignity and authority of a ruler.

> "'Born to be controll'd,
> Slave of the forward and the bold,'

what he requires from England is a well-chosen, vigorous, and benignant Governor-General, armed with ample power to enforce authority, protect person and property, and administer justice promptly and efficiently to the people, and to handle Sepoys on the principle laid down by the poet;—

> "'*Tender-handed* stroke the nettle,
> And it stings you for your pains;
> *Grasp it* like a man of mettle,
> And it soft as silk remains.
> 'Tis the same with grovelling natures:
> Use them *kindly*, they rebel;
> But be *rough* as nutmeg-graters,
> And the rogues obey you well.'

"Ere long these mutinies will pass away, leaving behind them, with all their horrid recollections, a not unprofitable lesson. Nations, like men, are subject to frenzy and delirium, and within the memory of some living, the most refined and civilised people upon earth were perpetrating upon each other the most cruel atrocities. The Prætorian Guards, the Janissaries, the Mamelukes, the Sepoys, are all reproductions of the same bloody history,—the natural development which follows from rude and mercenary armies gaining a knowledge of their own power. But with this knowledge the Sepoys have also learned this great lesson, that if brute force was with them for a season, the intellect that commands force and power was with England."

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

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Dr. Johnson emphatically assures us that no species of writing seems more worthy of cultivation than biography, "since none can be more delightful or more useful, none can more certainly enchain the heart by irresistible interest, or more widely diffuse instruction to every diversity of condition." There is a powerful charm to be found in narratives of the lives of particular persons, to which we readily conform our minds, as containing "circumstances and kindred images," which, with not a few of us, mark "the story of our life from year to year." Keeping such ideas steadily in view, we may affirm, without hesitation, that for the earnest youth of the present generation, for a simplicity, a grandeur, a strength, a sublimity of character, which shining forth in the day of trial, must ever keep up the fame of old England throughout the world, no better study can be presented than the eventful life of Sir Henry Lawrence.* To officers who can look back on a long Indian service, some of whom will recollect the energetic cadet at Addiscombe, and watched the Indian career of our "hero in the strife," till his glorious death at Lucknow, the study of such a life is intensely interesting. To Englishmen who have never visited the East, but many of whom, in these uncertain times—when beating swords into ploughshares appears to be as far distant as ever, and nation is still on

* "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence." By the late Major-General Sir Herbert Benjamin Edwardes, C.B., K.C.S.I., and Herman Merivale, Esq., C.B. 1872. "Lives of Indian Officers, illustrative of the History of the Civil and Military Service of India." By John William Kaye (now Sir John Kaye, K.C.S.I.)—1869.

the alert to rise against nation—may find themselves sooner than they reckon on in any part of the world, ready to uphold the honour of Great Britain, the careful reading of such a life will perhaps do more real good than such biographical studies as Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, "the most extraordinary man, perhaps, who ever appeared in the world," as the great Lord Clive, "the heaven-born general;" or even as our loved hero of heroes, the illustrious Wellington, who "exhausted nature and exhausted glory."

The biographer of the iron King of Sweden, the King who

> —"left a name at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral or adorn a tale,"

thinks that conquerors are a species between good kings and tyrants, partaking most of the latter, and have a glaring reputation. Still, we are naturally eager to know the most minute circumstances of their lives. The biography which has lately been so favourably received by the public, and especially by those who love to study the character of India's immortal roll of heroes and statesmen, in the first volume by Sir Herbert Edwardes, most successfully carries out the idea of "minute circumstances;" while in the second, the more serious and business-like part is most admirably executed by Mr. Merivale, under whose careful eye and experienced judgment the whole of this most noble work has been ushered forth into the world. Into such a life as that of Sir Henry Lawrence we have assembled together some of the finer qualities which distinguished the foregoing immortal trio (Charles the Twelfth, Lord Clive, and Wellington); and here and there we find traits which also remind us of Nelson, Howard (Lawrence was styled "the Howard of the Punjab"), Chalmers, Havelock, and Neill; and, greatest quality of all for success in life—on which Sir Fowell Buxton has laid so much stress—he had ENERGY in a wonderful degree. Although rather late in the day, to give some of the leading points in such a life may be of interest to our readers.

Before perusing the complete "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," the student would do well to make himself master

of the hundred or more pages devoted to our hero in Sir John Kaye's "Lives of Indian Officers."

These interesting and graphic sketches—drawn by a master hand—being "illustrative of the History of the Civil and Military Services of India," and written on the principle "that the best biographies are those in which the autobiographical element is the most prominent,"* will, even in these distracting times for much reading, create a desire to go right through the larger volumes, causing the young soldier and statesman *in esse* to read, as we all should read, in the words of Shakspeare—

> "As if increase of appetite had grown
> By what it fed on."

Henry Montgomery Lawrence was born at Matarah, in Ceylon, on the 28th June, 1806. His father, every inch a soldier, was garrisoned in that island, after very distinguished service in the South of India, particularly at the second siege of Seringapatam, where, as Lieutenant Lawrence, under General Baird (the mighty Sir David), he commanded one of the two subalterns' parties† appointed to cover the forlorn hope at the memorable assault of that fortress (4th May, 1799). Judging from his extraordinary military career, most interesting details regarding which are furnished by Sir Herbert Edwardes, Alexander William Lawrence must indeed have been a first-rate officer, exhibiting a life well versed in the ups and downs of martial adventures. He seemed to laugh at impossibilities, and say: "It *must* be done!" on all occasions; and doubtless, "he only wanted the opportunity which rank gives to have done great things." His "God-fearing" wife appears to have been a pattern of womanly goodness; and when little Henry arrived on the stage of life, on which he was destined to play so prominent a part, the proud mother had every reason to say, as she afterwards did to a lady at Galle, "There's *my* Maturah diamond."

With such parents, it was quite to be expected that a rare

* "Lives," p. 400.

† "Lieutenant Hill (74th)," writes Colonel Alexander Beatson, historian of the war with Tippoo Sultan, "commanded the right Subaltern's party."

jewel would be presented to the world. The son "achieved greatness," and so made all the setting for it himself. Henry Lawrence's career at Addiscombe forms a most interesting study, bringing forcibly out the truth of the saying that "The boy is father to the man."

At Addiscombe, we learn that Henry was always asking the "reasons" of things, and "tracing effects to their cause." Although such inquisitive power—if it may be so called—may hinder rapid progress at school or college, still the habit is invaluable towards forming a great statesman, and, in some respects, a great soldier. The very facts of his being "best in mathematics," and fond of "making military surveys of the country round," go some way to prove how strong the desire must have been within him to ask reasons and questions; and we find this desire running all through his life, and especially during many of the gravest events of Indian history, from the first Sikh war to the glorious relief of Lucknow. Perhaps, when a brother cadet (Robert Macgregor) saved him from drowning—as Sir John Kaye remarks, "the one noticeable incident of Henry Lawrence's early life"—he was anxious to learn the hydrostatic and pneumatic principles by which such a catastrophe could have taken place.

Regarding the school and Addiscombe career of Henry Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwardes sums up "in a few home words of the brothers and sisters," which will amply repay perusal; but the following must be cited as one of the most interesting passages in the book:—"I remember my brother Henry" (says Sir John, the present Lord Lawrence)* "one night in Lord Hardinge's camp, turning to me and saying, 'Do you think we were clever as lads? *I don't think we were!*' But it was not altogether that we were dull. We had very few advantages, had not had a very good education, and were consequently backward and deficient. We were both bad in languages, and always continued so, and were not good in anything which required a technical memory; but were good in anything which required thought and

* In a "Conversation with the Author." For the other "home words," see vol. i. pp. 30, 31.

judgment. We were good, for instance, in history. And so far from Henry being *dull*, I can remember that I myself always considered him a fellow of power and mark; and I observed that others thought so." Thus we have the secret of the two brothers' success in life. They possessed those qualities in which the majority of public men are deficient, despite ever so much learning—tact and judgment. Perhaps, as a rule, we should call no man dull till we know him well, or opportunity brings him out. Who would ever have imagined that young Walter Scott, far from "*dux*" in his class, with a cluster of boys beside him listening to his recital of some strange tale, would have become the immortal author of "Waverley" and "Marmion"?

It has been truthfully remarked, and we have heard it from the mouth of a shrewd Indian General who knew him in the morning of life, that none of his contemporaries predicted that our hero would live to outstrip them all. A hundred dull youths becoming great men might be cited. And on ripe manhood also we should restrain our judgment. Sir Henry Lawrence—in India great before—became immortal at Lucknow. And the famous General Neill—the avenging angel of the Sepoy rebellion—almost unknown before, became immortal in his glorious march to assist Havelock and punish the mutineers. Neill, during the second Burmese war, gave one the idea of a pleasing gentleman, but of an ordinary soldier. He was rather sparing of his remarks, but you got a telling smile from him, if no more. His manner was decidedly retired, while we marched north with the view of clearing the new conquest of Pegu of dacoits and other disturbers of the peace in the "golden" valley of Burma.

Doubtless those who had the honour of knowing or serving under Sir Henry Lawrence, notwithstanding his hitherto brilliant career, never expected the wonderful energy and forethought displayed at Lucknow.

At length "Aunt Angel" fits out Henry; the Colonel (his father) "wouldn't hear of it;" and he takes his departure for India. He arrived in February, 1823, and joined the head-quarters of the Bengal Artillery at Dum-

Dum, not far from Calcutta. And now life commences in earnest in "the nursery of captains" and of able politicals. In eleven chapters—making twelve in all—Sir Herbert Edwardes does his utmost to produce a wonderful biographical study; and the very minuteness of the biographer's details forms, we think, the chief excellence of his volume. There is nothing of the water-colour sketch about the picture. It is a genuine portrait, on which we look with the same interest as on a picture by Reynolds, Lawrence, or Raeburn. The lights and shadows are admirably brought out. The noble rivalry between the brothers to help their parents—the influence of religious friends—the varied events of the first Burmese war, where Henry first smelt powder, concluded by a fever and the peace dictated at Ava (1826) by Sir Archibald Campbell—form the chief subjects of the second chapter. In the third, through sheer perseverance, Henry passes the examination for interpreter at Cawnpore. In the fourth, Henry marries Honoria Marshall, "a model wife," which wise act reminds us of the remark of an able Calcutta reviewer, while writing on married life in India, that "did the Court of Directors" (now Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council) "but understand their real interests as well as the Athenians did theirs, they might perhaps make it imperative that their officers should, on entering the service, be provided with a wife." In India, through a good wife, men's minds are regulated, "their ideas and manners become softened, and their souls are cared for."* Mrs. Lawrence's "thoughts about death," in a letter to her husband at the end of this chapter, are very affecting.†

The fifth chapter—from 1838 to 1841—contains speculations on another war with Burma (which did not take place till 1852), and war with Nepaul—the first note of the Caubul War—Lawrence's wise resolution to write for the press the "Adventures in the Punjab," shortly after his first political appointment—concluding, after striking examples of mental energy and devotion to the service of the State, with the death of his little daughter. This is a chapter which re-

* *Calcutta Review*, No. 8, p. 406, vol. iv. † Pp. 164, 165.

quires especial study. The *mens aequa in arduis* becomes strongly apparent. There is also an impending duel, and a wife's beautiful remonstrance; the duel was prevented by Henry Lawrence's brother officers in the artillery, and an age was begining to dawn when it was thought that, for an affront, there was little satisfaction in shooting a man, or in carrying out the eloquent but unruly Grattan's advice to his son, just as the Irish orator was about to leave the world, "Always be ready with the pistol!"

This affair leads Sir Herbert Edwardes to remark on the cessation of duelling in the British army, which had been slightly prevalent a quarter of a century before:—"He who would judge the error fairly must go back a quarter of a century [to just before Waterloo]. Then a duel was 'an affair of honour;' now it is a 'disgraceful affair.' To shrink from shooting your neighbour then was to be a coward for life; now we may be allowed even to shrink from being shot, and bear no cross."*

The sixth and three following chapters are pregnant with interest: and they were especially so at the time when our first Anglo-Indian Field-Marshal, the noble and gallant Sir G. Pollock, "the head of the great representatives of the old Company's army, who won and maintained our great Indian Empire," found an honoured restingplace in Westminster Abbey (Oct. 16th, 1872). Sir George, like Sir Henry Lawrence, was a Bengal artilleryman, belonging also to a family which carried out Bacon's fine expression of "achieving greatness," and Indian artillerymen were among the pall-bearers—of whom, doubtless, Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother officer, had he been spared, would have formed one—who consisted of Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Lawrence, K.C.S.I., C.B.; Major-Gen. Sir V. Eyre, K.C.S.I., C.B.; Sir J. W. Kaye, K.C.S.I.; Major-Gen. Sir George McGregor, K.C.B.; Major-Gen. Sir J. Brind, K.C.B.: and Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. Alexander, K.C.B. The Right Hon. Lord Lawrence, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Henry's brother, followed in order of procession, just before the Members of the Council of India, the Duke of Argyll and the Council having felt, with

* P. 195.

admirable taste and feeling, that the glorious old Abbey was the only fit place to receive Pollock's honoured remains.

We now return to Henry Lawrence, as great events are on the gale, and begin to think there is every chance of Mr. Hudleston's prophecy becoming true, which he made to Henry's sister, Letitia (who was unwilling to let him go), just before our hero's departure for India: "You foolish thing," he said, "Henry will distinguish himself. All your brothers will do well, I think; but Henry has such steadiness and resolution that you'll see him come back a general. *He will be Sir Henry Lawrence before he dies.*"* To the student of Indian history, the sixth chapter is invaluable. It prepares him for the great drama of the War in Afghanistan, so ably written by Sir John Kaye; and when "Alps upon Alps" of difficulties were arising in every direction, he finds Lawrence serving bravely in the midst of them. General George Pollock had been despatched with a force to the Afghan frontier. Sale and Macgregor wrote from Jellalabad, urging the immediate advance of Pollock's brigade, and Lawrence, Wild, and their gallant comrades were repulsed in an attempt to throw in supplies. The Khyber was yet to be forced, and everything was black as storm-threatening night. But after such darkness, as the German poet sings, cometh the light of morn—"suddenly the brightest light springs from the darkest sky." The political services of Captain Lawrence in Afghanistan at this time were very valuable. Soon came preparations for an attack on the Khyber Pass (related in the eighth chapter), Pollock's advance and victory, Lawrence's renewed exertions; the eventual dismantling of Jellalabad and Ali Musjid: and next the return to "Home, sweet home"—the whole forming in Sir John's pages one of the saddest and most eventful histories ever written. The student, with this biography beside him, should thoroughly master it; and, as old Colonel Lawrence said, when one of his children having finished Rollin's "Ancient History" "closed the volume with an exulting bang"—"begin it again at the beginning."† It may here be interesting to note that the

* P. 32 vol. iv. † P. 30.

"Life of Washington" made a lasting impression on Henry Lawrence's mind; and another biography read to the children under the discipline of the Colonel was the "Life of Sir Thomas Munro," one of the greatest soldiers and statesmen England and India ever had, so much admired by George Canning, and whose example continued to influence the future Hero of Lucknow during his brilliant career.

In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters, extending from 1842 to 1844, we have Lawrence as active as ever—Lord Ellenborough rewarding him with high appointments, and eventually making him Resident at the Court of Nepaul. Numerous most important events in the history of India follow, all of which are touched on in a most interesting manner by the gallant biographer, whose bright day of distinction was also fast drawing nigh.* The concluding or twelfth chapter describes the scenery and manner of life in Nepaul, where, as remarked in a paper on Periodical Literature in India, we found the great political watching and waiting; and, while a Sikh invasion of British India, and the Mutiny of 1857 had been foreshadowed, with great energy assisting his brother officer, Mr. Kaye (the editor and originator of that far-famed periodical), with contributions for the *Calcutta Review*.

So much, then, for the first volume of the "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," compiled by his "dear friend and scholar in Indian Administration and Statesmanship, Sir Herbert Edwardes." Sir Herbert, who, while in England had been entrusted by the Lawrence family to write a memoir of Sir Henry, died in December, 1868, leaving chapter twelve unfinished. Mr. Merivale, Under-Secretary of State for India, now became the biographer, and, having arranged the first volume for publication, began the second from the materials left him, at the point at which he took up the work. The difference of style in the two volumes has been considered remarkable; but superiority has been assigned to

* Mr. Merivale writes that "Sir Herbert's best-remembered title to the gratitude of his countrymen was gained in the three months, May to August, 1848, when, with a mere handful of men at his disposal, he kept in check the revolted Sikhs before Mooltan."—*Preface*.

Mr. Merivale,* who, having more striking and romantic materials to deal with, has, as a distinguished writer, produced a book worthy of the graceful American, Washington Irving, or some of our best English writers of biography, forming the brilliant half of a most interesting biographical study.

With two such admirable volumes before him, should the reader be—as Major Straith, of Addiscombe, used to recommend to the student of fortification—"thorough in his study," he will be forced to the inevitable conclusion after their perusal that the great Indian officer appears to have been eminently fitted for every post he occupied. Throughout his life he comes forth as "the right man in the right place." Whether as artillery subaltern fighting his battery; revenue surveyor; political agent; adventurous traveller; conciliator of native soldiery; philanthropist and founder of the noble asylums which bear his name; writer of elaborate essays "gravid" with important matter on a variety of subjects, for the *Calcutta Review*, or of sketches for the newspapers; one haranguing the natives in their own language and fearlessly telling the warlike races of India that England could hold her own in the country despite whatever might happen to us elsewhere;† or as the prudent, brave, and energetic commander of troops during the crowning scene of India's "severest trial"—on every occasion he displayed extraordinary powers, forcing us to repeat what Johnson said of Addison's various ways of presenting truth —"*mille habet ornatus, mille decentur habet.*"

* This able and distinguished public servant died on the 8th of February, 1874, and the Duke of Argyll in Council appointed Sir Louis Mallet, C.B. (one of the Council), his successor as Under-Secretary of State for India. Sir Louis is known "by reputation as, jointly with Cobden, the author of the French Treaty, and," continues a well-known M.P. "one of our ablest political economists and public servants." Sir Louis retired from the India Office, 30th September, 1883, having been succeeded by J. A. Godley, Esq., C.B., and was appointed a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council for his distinguished services.

† The author of this sketch is responsible for the incident of Lawrence thus addressing the natives. If memory serves right, it happened when the Crimean War was at its height, and an uneasy feeling existed about our success before Sebastopol.

The second volume consists of eight chapters, with some valuable appendices. The years 1844, 1845, are about to become a critical time for India, the latter year even more so than 1842, when Lord Ellenborough succeeded Lord Auckland, and the Khyber was yet far from being forced. Henry Lawrence's literary pursuits, assisted by his admirable wife, in Nepaul, and the foundation and early history of the Lawrence Asylum, are fully detailed at the commencement of Mr. Merivale's volume. Regarding his literary pursuits, we have spoken in our sketch of Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature. Sir John Kaye is the grand authority on this subject; and the later biographer remarks that this distinguished writer "was united to Sir Henry by the bonds of strong personal friendship, and also by those which exist between editor and contributor." Who would have thought that the "sweet and gentle boy," of whom his amiable sister said she could not "recall his ever telling an untruth," or the "rather tall, raw-boned youth of sixteen," at Addiscombe, "with high cheek-bones, small grey eyes, prominent brows, and long brown hair"—a "very rough Irish lad"—would ever have become a Calcutta reviewer, unless we accept the fact, not common with the critical brotherhood, that "he could, when necessary, take or give a licking with a good grace"? Mr. Merivale gives a list, which we believe not to be complete,* of Sir Henry and Lady Lawrence's contributions to the *Calcutta Review*, among them the famous essays on "Military Defence of our Indian Empire," "The Sikhs and their Country," "Indian Army," "Army Reform," and "Englishwomen in Hindustan" (by Lady Lawrence). Of Sir Henry's, as well as of Sir Herbert Edwardes' style as reviewers, we have given slight specimens in our sketch of Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature. But there was one point we did not touch upon—the handwriting of the Nepaul reviewer! Sir John Kaye tells us in his "Lives"† that "his

* A nearly complete list will be found in the April number (1874) of the *Calcutta Review*, with an article entitled "The First Twenty Years" of that periodical, by George Smith, LL.D., lately retired from the *Friend of India*, to which he had long been so bright an ornament.

† P. 115.

handwriting was not the most legible in the world, and the copyists whom he tried only made matters worse." It was not, perhaps, quite so bad as that of the great divine, philosopher, and statesman, Dr. Chalmers, whose mother frankly declared that she always put Tom's letters in her drawer in order that he might read them to her himself when he came home; but it was certainly defective, and cost East Indian and native compositors (who do the printing business in India) much trouble. This may remind us of some remarks by Samuel Rogers, the gifted and amiable author of "The Pleasures of Memory." He said it is inexcusable in anyone to write illegibly, and tells us that he got a plain hand by tracing the master's copies against the window; also that when the great Lord Clive informed his sisters by letter that he had returned them an "elephant" (at least, so they read the word), the true word was "equivalent." In the middle of 1844, the recall of Lord Ellenborough had arrived in Calcutta, and Sir Henry, afterwards Lord, Hardinge, was now Governor-General. The first Sikh war, throughout which Lawrence's knowledge of the Punjab was invaluable, and which was very highly appreciated by Lord Hardinge, together with his appointment of Resident at Lahore, form strong landmarks in our hero's career; and when at length, events having become of a more peaceful character, after the war he left India, on account of his health, for England, and was made a K.C.B. (April, 1848). Returning to India the same year, he seemed to be in a fair way to exhaust glory if not nature. He was now—fulfilling Mr. Hudleston's prophecy—SIR HENRY LAWRENCE—determined to do his duty before he died! A useful rather than a glorious life seemed to be his aim. And Sir Henry appears to have been well aware of the truth conveyed in the beautiful verse:—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

When he returned to India, Lord Dalhousie was Governor-

General," and his relations with that stern, and, as some think, greatest Indian Proconsul, are admirably told by Mr. Merivale. Of course, the annexation and the non-annexation policy could not agree for a moment. Lord Dalhousie, too, was quite unlike the amiable "old Peninsular hero," and "favourite pupil of Wellington in his greatest wars," Lord Hardinge. Sir Henry's views regarding annexation are thus summed up in his article on Oudh in the *Calcutta Review*, quoted by Sir John Kaye, and which are quite in accordance with the policy we are pursuing at the present time:—"We have no right to rob a man because he spends his money badly, or even because he ill-treats his peasantry. We may protect and help the latter without putting the rents into our own pockets." He was Resident at Lahore and President of the Lahore Board after the Second Sikh War (1849), which ended in the annexation of the Punjab.

We now pass on to chapter eighteen of the work (January, 1853—March, 1857), which contains an account of Sir Henry's valuable labours as Agent in Rajpootana, where, among other humane projects, he turned himself to the abolition of widow-burning, and "the reformation of the prison discipline of the States,"—quite in keeping with his other noble efforts, such as rescuing poor European soldiers' children from the unseen wretchedness of barrack life, and giving them a comfortable asylum on the Hills—the sad death of Lady Lawrence, Lord Dalhousie's succession by Lord Canning, and Sir Henry's appointment to the Chief Commissionership of Oudh. The story of his wife's death, about which Mr. Merivale gives some striking extracts from Sir Henry's letters, is very sad, and some of his remarks after the event to his friend ("spiritual director,") Mrs. Hill, deeply interesting:—"He 'wonders why we are allowed to sin and to suffer, why some are born to bliss, and others to misery.'"

"He 'desires to be assured that he and his departed wife must hereafter dwell together.'" And yet this brave

* His Lordship arrived in Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1848, shortly before Sir Henry left for England, where he arrived in March, returning with his wife in November.

Christian soldier, with a heart brim full of charity, must have been aware of the merciful promise that the mysteries of our

——"natures unrevealed below,
We yet shall learn and wonder as we know."

Doubtless, when his bereavement—producing what the Orientals style "sorrow-devouring sorrow"—was less acutely felt, he found, like the puritan Havelock, comfort in the Divine order to "be not faithless but believing."

Our imperfect sketch, or biographical study, draws to a close, and the crowning effort of a most glorious career is nigh. The terrible mutiny of 1857 was prophesied by Sir Henry Lawrence years before it took place. In this year he was entrusted by the Governor-General with "the chief direction of military as well as of civil affairs" in Oudh, and became a brigadier-general. It may also be added that Sir Henry Lawrence, in the event of the death or the retirement of Lord Canning, was appointed Provisional Governor-General by the Home Government. "No soldier of the Company's army," writes Sir John Kaye, "had ever been so honoured." The last two chapters of Mr. Merivale's most interesting volume, Sir John's graphic pages, and the pens of other writers, have done our noble "hero in the strife" full justice; so it would be simple presumption to attempt adding anything to such vivid descriptions. Our chief object here has been to draw public attention, especially that of students—those who are preparing for India—to one of the most glorious lives which have adorned the nineteenth century—that of "a distinguished statesman and a most gallant soldier." The particulars of his death are most affecting. During his superhuman exertions at the siege of Lucknow, on the 1st of July, a shell burst in his room at the Residency, and severely shattered his thigh. Among Sir Henry's last directions, communicated to his successor, Major Banks, during great sufferings, were:—"Let every man die at his post; but never make terms. God help the poor women and children." "Spare the precious health of Europeans in every possible way from shot and shell." (Mr. Merivale has it "from shot and sun.") "Entrench

—on trench—entrench. Erect traverses. Cut off enemy's fire." "Put on my tomb only this: HERE LIES HENRY LAWRENCE, WHO TRIED TO DO HIS DUTY. May God have mercy on him." He died from exhaustion on the morning of the 4th of July, "and," writes Dr. Fayrer,* who attended his deathbed, "his last moments were peaceful." On such an occasion we are tempted to think that

> "One crowded hour of glorious life
> Is worth an age without a name."

"When I think of death," says Grahame of Claverhouse to Mr. Morton, "as a thing worth thinking of, it is in the hope of pressing one day some well-fought and hard-won field of battle, and dying with the shout of victory in my ear; that would be worth dying for—and more, it would be worth having lived for!" This grand speech from the genius of Sir Walter Scott is all for glory; but Sir Henry Lawrence preferred duty, and his personal courage was quite equal to that of Claverhouse. Duty was his first aim; and of this noble Anglo-Indian it may well be said—

> "The elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

So splendid a character also suggests a gem from the literature of Germany, which is from a translation† of "Words of the Heart," by J. C. Lavater, "For the friends of Love and Faith." Such Christian philanthropy, as exhibited by the "Howard of the Punjab," and especially towards poor soldiers' children, might almost make us imagine that he had the words engraven on his heart—

> "Leave to the Dust—Dust!
> To the Earth—the Seed!—
> Those glorious with it grow up!
> So we shall behold ourselves once again Glorious!"

* In 1886 we find Surgeon-General Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I., M.D., F.R.S., still President of the Medical Board at the India Office, an appointment he has filled with distinction for many years. Sir Joseph first accompanied the Duke of Edinburgh, 7th January to 10th of March, 1870, and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to India in 1875–76.

† Manuscript by Mrs. Henry Westmacott.

At the conclusion of this volume Mr. Merivale has the following striking passage, which we consider one of the finest in the whole work:—"Fourteen months after Sir Henry's death, in August, 1858, the Government of India passed, under Act of Parliament, from the hands of the East India Company to the direct control of the Crown. He was, therefore, the last of that great line of statesman soldiers—the last in the list which begins with Clive and ends with himself—who held to the end, and dignified, the simple title of 'servants of the Company;' and with him closes one of the strangest and not least glorious chapters in the history of England and of the world." Originating in a few gunners' crews and factory guards, the Company's army became a gigantic host of a nature unparalleled in ancient or modern times.

On the 22nd of July, 1857, three weeks after his death, the Court of Directors in London resolved that "Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, K.C.B., be appointed provisionally to succeed to the office of Governor-General of India, on the death, resignation, or coming away of Viscount Canning, pending the arrival of a successor from England." Sir Henry, had he lived, would have succeeded him provisionally. But Lord Canning—the pilot who weathered the storm—died in England (June 17th, 1862), not in India as asserted in this volume, and his successor, Lord Elgin, died in India (1863), and was succeeded by Lord Lawrence, who "was then named to hold the magnificent vice-royalty which would have been his brother's."

There is a monument to the memory of Sir Henry Lawrence in St. Paul's Cathedral; "but," writes his friend, Sir John Kaye, "the grandest monument of all is to be found in the asylums which bear his name"—the name of one, perhaps, unequalled "in the ranks of the servants of any Christian State in the latter ages of this world."*—*Aje kahún kya*; or *ziyada kya nuheen*—what more need be said—in favour of such a biographical study?

* The latter remark is from William Russell's "Diary in India," quoted by Sir John.

NOTE.

With reference to the comparative merits of the two volumes forming this excellent biography, alluded to in our sketch, Mr. Merivale wrote to the author about a month before his death, on kindly acknowledging receipt of "the favourable notice":—"The book has been very well received, with some difference of opinion, I think, as to the merits of the respective authorships."—The admirable Sir Herbert Edwardes, it may be here stated, has a monument in Westminster Abbey, close to the cenotaph of Richard Cobden, his bust resting on a pedestal supported by two angels.

JOHN RUSSEL COLVIN, B.C.S.*

(LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF AGRA, 1857.)

—o—

"ONE civilian, among so many military men! What can be the reason for such a disproportion in the arrangement of some distinguished Anglo-Indians?" To this very natural question on the part of the reader, the writer would beg leave to reply, that it is not out of any want of respect for, or appreciation of, the high qualities and splendid actions of the Indian Civil Service, that he has not introduced more purely civil sketches into his pages, but from the fact of no other materials for such having come in his way; and his knowing that there are very many able writers, possessed of knowledge, only to be obtained in that service—particularly of days gone by—who are ready, should the demand arise, to do the civilians of India full justice.

It is, perhaps, safer and better, therefore, that a military writer should confine himself to military men and soldier-politicals such as form the chief sketches here presented. But there is one item of knowledge in which the writer considers himself second to no man living, and that is an acquaintance with the magnificent hospitality of the Anglo-Indian civilian. He experienced it in the morning of life in Madras and Bengal, and to the close of his service, during many wanderings, and is glad to think he was never one of those who grudged the civilian his far larger salary, as, for many years, from reading and observation, he had opportunities of becoming aware of his mental attainments, his arduous duties, his vast responsibilities, his courage in facing difficulties, as well as of his social qualities. He recollects

* Written in December, 1874.

on one occasion, while on the march, meeting the collector and magistrate (the ruler in fact), of a district as large as Wales—a genuine Anglo-Indian collector of the old school—whose hospitable tent was adorned by a walking stick of colossal proportions—a *lathie* probably resembling what Dr. Johnson carried to thrash Ossian Macpherson if required—which weapon of defence had its story. It was simply that a week or so before, the collector had been surrounded and attacked while engaged in his multifarious duties for the natives' welfare, and narrowly escaped serious injury. No troops were asked for, but he determined not to go abroad among his subjects without a thick stick in future. Even a little incident like this, to a soldier, naturally inspired respect for the civilian, which continued to grow stronger, and reached its acme when he heard of the numerous instances of his "pluck" in the terrible Mutiny of 1857.

The following sketch is of a distinguished Bengal civilian, who died in harness, just as the light was beginning to break on "the shadows, clouds, and darkness" which had so long rested on a most awful period of our Indian history. Surely the career of a Lieutenant-Governor who died at such a crisis, of the Chief of the Agra Presidency, "the model government of India," where our overthrow was more immediate, and our disappearance more complete than elsewhere,* the ruler of a population of twenty-three millions (fifteen millions being agricultural), where everything had been done, through village schools and peasant proprietors, to raise the people to exertion "by means of their interest in the land;" surely such a career is well worthy of a brief study.†—John Russell Colvin was the second son of James Colvin, of the great mercantile house of Colvin and Co.,

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. 66, December, 1859, p. 428—Article "Lord Dalhousie."

† This sketch of Mr. Colvin is chiefly compiled from a most interesting memoir in the *Times* (November, 1857), by a distinguished Bengal civilian, Sir Charles Trevelyan, the well known "Indophilus"—the Christian philanthropist—known also to fame as a financier, and who was for a short time Governor of Madras. The writer has also had the benefit of notes from private and other sources.

and was born at Calcutta in May, 1807. Educated till nearly fifteen at St. Andrew's, Fifeshire, after a short time passed with a private tutor he entered the East India College at Haileybury. He must have been a distinguished student, for he at once obtained the highest place among his contemporaries, and kept it throughout, his talents, energy and industry giving the promise of a valuable public servant. No one will venture to dispute that Haileybury produced many great and useful civilians; and it remains to be seen in our days of coaching and competition, whether the same certain supply of energetic talent will be obtained as in days gone by.

Colvin went to India in 1826, and after passing most creditably the College of Fort William, began his career as assistant to the Registrar of the Sudder Court, Mr. Macnaghten, afterwards the famous Sir William, who, as the British envoy was so treacherously assassinated* in the Afghan War. In this court probably, the young civilian gained his first knowledge of native character, although, perhaps, the future mighty secretary and unfortunate envoy was hardly the best man to implant such knowledge. Still here Colvin must have learned something in the way of forming his opinion of Asiatics, there being no sounder than that written twelve years after to Secretary Macnaghten, by Sir Alexander Burnes:† "You can only rely upon them when their interests are identified with the line of procedure marked out to them; and this seems now to be a doctrine pretty general in all politics." At this period we are told that although John Colvin "lived laborious days," like a sensible man "he did not scorn those delights which belonged to his age and character." His next appointment was Assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. William Byam Martin, remarkable for the cultivation of literary tastes during the most active period of his Indian career. In 1832, Lord William Bentinck created the office of Assistant-Secretary in each of the Government Departments at

* Shot by Akbar Khan, 23rd December, 1841.
† Hussin Abdul, 2nd June, 1838.

Calcutta, "on the model of the English Under-Secretaryships," Colvin being selected for Assistant-Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial department. He was promoted in 1836 to be Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. The most important event in his official life took place, when, on the 4th of March, 1836, Lord Auckland took his seat as Governor-General of India. His Lordship wanted "the best man" as Private Secretary, and asked those who were able to form a correct judgment on the subject. John Colvin was appointed, and how "ably and zealously," he served his master, forms a grateful record by Lord Auckland, the first passage in which is:—"Mr. Colvin has worked, I may say rather with me than under me, during six years. He has had, and he has deserved my entire confidence. He brought to his duties an extensive and accurate knowledge of the interests of India, in its history, and in the details of its administration." There could have been no more trying period for the zealous Secretary than that shortly before the famous proclamation of war was issued (1st of October 1838), by the Governor-General, when, it is believed that the mind of Lord Auckland was so thoroughly bewildered betwixt peace and war,—the voice of Burnes and of the more experienced councillors being on the one side, "those of Captain Wade, the Resident at Loodianah, and the Secretaries Macnaghten and Colvin being on the other," that scarcely an hour elapsed without his Lordship's views alternating "from peace to war, and war to peace." It is strange that "Indophilus" does not allude to this important matter in his memoir. No more difficult position for a British statesman can be imagined than, during an impending storm in or on the confines of India, with terrific breakers ahead, to say, boldly, "To be, or not to be!" The five small words, *to think is to act* contain the very quintessence of decision of character; but then, what genius it requires, at the head of such an empire, to think rightly! A great statesman for India must be to the manner born. The Marquis Wellesley and Lord Dalhousie had the faculty of decisive, speedy action in weighty political matters, far above nearly

all other Governors-General. The former, at the beginning of the present century, to help on the work of consolidating the empire, at once resolved to occupy the province of Cuttack, in Orissa, which led to Pûri and the far-famed temple of Jagannáth (the Lord of the World), the stronghold of Hindu idolatry, falling into our hands, but all his orders were conciliatory. Nearly fifty years after Lord Dalhousie, to prevent another Sikh invasion of British India, at once resolved, when aggression had been made, to fight the Sikhs "with a vengeance," leaving conciliation to follow the conquest if possible. In both cases, and in numerous others among their actions, a grand decision of character is apparent. Lord Auckland with the Russian bugbear, and a most difficult country for warfare in his mind's eye, became overwhelmed in a sea of indecision, and in the opinion of some good judges, almost at the bidding of his pilots, the secretaries, proclaimed one of the most disastrous wars on record. Perhaps, as this world goes, the actual decision to make war was not wrong; but in the state of Lord Auckland's mind, there should have been no final decision at all; and with the hope of conciliatory action, and the fullest preparations to resist aggression, he should, as a blow to trifling and dangerous indecision, have gone in heart and soul for peace.

We are inclined to think that the towering ambition of Sir William Macnaghten is chiefly to blame in this sad piece of business. Sir William did everything in his power to sway the councils of the Government of India. Although a famous Oriental scholar, and, in many respects, a valuable servant of Government, he knew nothing of Afghan diplomacy, as was eventually proved by the way he acted in "the Peshawur question." He lacked the accuracy of observation, the general soundness of judgment, and the valuable political views of Sir Alexander Burnes. Attentively looking at the Chief Secretary's character, he was just the man to have great weight with such a statesman as Lord Auckland. But, at the same time, it is a fact that Mr. Colvin's influence with the Governor-General was very great, and, rightly or wrongly, he is said to have identified himself

with, or to a degree inspired, the policy which led to our Cabul disasters.

Mr. Colvin, like his master, was grieved at our position in the East, at a period of some humiliation on our part, with reference to Persia and Russia, and may have thought it just possible that diplomatic errors might be corrected, and British prestige restored, by letting slip "the dogs of war;" but the whole tenor of his career does not show any tendency to inculcate a war policy. As will be seen in the remainder of this sketch he was essentially a peaceful man, or, like Clive, when a youth he might have left the Civil Service for the Army.

As we have said before, he died in harness, when the first awful cloud of the Mutiny was passing away. And this leads to a very interesting question, which has not yet been fairly answered—Had the Afghan war any effect in producing that mutiny? An eminent Anglo-Indian takes a very strong view when, talking of the people of India as "far-distant, strange, and peculiar," he says that "the most stupendous crime that modern history records" was the Afghan invasion, "a crime deeply affecting that very people." And then, in a tone of indignant eloquent declamation, he remarks, "It was there that the right of England, her true might, was shivered, and the glorious prestige of our nation in Asia passed away! It was there in the perpetration of an unhallowed scheme, that the Hindustani Sepoy saw an army of his comrades under the torn banner of Britain 'melted like snow in the glance of the Lord,' and got from the Afghan resisting the invader, the first glimmering of his own power!" But many years before those words were uttered (1858), we had almost recovered our prestige by the glorious deeds of our troops under Pollock and Nott, by the gallant and chivalrous actions of Napier and Outram in Sind, and by the decisive battles which took place (an Indian Waterloo* among them), with a very strong foe, while we resisted and drove back the Sikh invaders of British India! And even in the year of the Mutiny the people must have observed how well Sir John Lawrence held the Punjab, "kept back

* Sir Herbert Edwardes styled Ferozshah the Indian *Waterloo*.

the wild tribes of Afghanistan, whose bands were mustering in Cabul for the invasion of India, and forced Wilson to the storm of Delhi."* Truly we may say that, during the Indian crisis, a kind Providence looked after us; and even enlightened Hindus and Mahomedans were forced to note what Shakspeare tells us, that

> "There's a divinity which shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them as we will."

It may be said, then, although Lord Auckland, or his secretaries, gave us the Afghan war, that war had little or nothing to do with producing the Indian Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which chiefly arose from over confidence, and a growing want of tact and discipline—of course difficult to maintain where Brahmanic caste is so powerful—in our relations with the Bengal army! Our grand fault in the East, since Warren Hastings (the first Governor-General) consolidated the empire which Clive conquered, has been over-confidence. John Bull, in all his political conduct, especially in India and the neighbouring countries, from his kindly nature and knowledge of his inherent power, is too apt to confide, and too slow to prepare. Clouds on the horizon do not dismay him: they have passed away before, and will pass away again. This is hardly according to the advice of Burke, or our greatest political orators and writers, and, nearly twenty years ago, was alluded to in the *Calcutta Review*:—"Trusting overweeningly, like true Englishmen, in our intrinsic strength; confiding with more than Mahomedan infatuation in our '*ikbal*;' we leave much, sometimes all, to fortune. Such was long, very long, our practice on the North-West Frontier." We now return to Mr. Colvin. He came home with Lord Auckland in 1842, to enjoy that "chief nourisher" in an Anglo-Indian career, a furlough. Both mind and body were refreshed after three years' comparative leisure. He returned to India in 1845, and for a year held the appoint-

* *Calcutta Review* (1859), No. 63, p. 248. *The Reviewer* is of opinion that Mr. Montgomery (now Sir Robert, the esteemed Member of Council) was the only other man (except Sir Henry Lawrence) who could have held the Punjab. He likewise praises the admirable conduct of Davideon and Macpherson at their respective courts.

ment of Resident in Nepaul, after which he was transferred (1846) to the Commissionership of the Tenasserim Provinces, where, in a difficult position his administration gave much satisfaction to the Government as well as to the public. He had left the land of Vishnu and Siva to sojourn in the entirely different region of Guadama. Here his measures, says "Indophilus," regarding the timber trade—for the community of Moulmein, although energetic and enterprising, may be literally styled a *wooden* one—"were held to be particularly useful, and he did much good by framing an uniform code of procedure for the native judges." In 1848 (if we recollect right) Mr. Colvin was promoted to the Sudder Court, Calcutta, where "he became *facile princeps*, so much so that it was commonly said that the pleaders had sometimes to be reminded that they ought to address the Court, and not Mr. Colvin." This is very remarkable when we consider that he had no regular judicial training. All his knowledge of law was gained by hard study, and his becoming chief in a learned Court may be justly deemed "a proof of his intellectual superiority." As Sudder Judge, he may be said to have made his *best* score. The Court at the time was in little repute, and he pulled it up effectively. While on the Bench, he remonstrated with Lord Dalhousie for appointing a junior to the Foreign Office. His Lordship took the remonstrance in good part, defended himself, and shortly after sent him to the North-West. Calcutta "gup" said that he was sent there to escape the alternative of giving him a seat in Council, where his anti-Oudh annexation views, and his independence, might have proved troublesome. Mr. Colvin was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces (or Agra), on the death of the celebrated "big collector," Mr. Thomason (1853). "When thus appointed," writes "Indophilus," with the highest appreciation of his friend, "there was certainly no man in the service whose name stood higher for activity, ability, and force of character, and he had been already marked out as a fit man for Council." The magnitude of such a government as that of the North-West Provinces cannot be easily understood by Englishmen, who

would seem to prefer any study to that of the geography and history of India. It may give some idea of the extent of territory to remark that the provinces which, with very few exceptions, have come under the far-famed "settlement" are about equal to England and Scotland, without Wales. In point of population (already given) they nearly equal Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia; while the gross revenue realized from them exceeds by one-half that of the Kingdom of Belgium.* From an able Bengal civilian, who knew Mr. Colvin well, we learn that as Lieutenant-Governor he laboured under the great disadvantage of being a stranger to the Province. This prevented him from being *one* with his officers from the first. But he became popular with most, and always had the reputation of singular fairness. His outsider position, however, led him to consult others as well; and he was thought to lean too much on advice, and to act too little from his own motives. Still, with these disadvantages in his high position, John Colvin exhibited an astonishing industry and mastery of detail. Perhaps, after all, the grand difficulty in official life is to do little things well. He was perpetually "asking questions, gathering opinions, collating, and he carried this to an extent rarely equalled."

Such a mode of conduct was necessary to a governor who had not the practical professional knowledge of Mr. Thomason, who had been a magistrate and collector, and had made settlements; or of Sir John Lawrence, who had "served in every department from top to bottom." It is particularly mentioned that the earnest adoption of everything that was good in Thomason's plans, shows how thoroughly Colvin had the public interest at heart, furnishing "an honourable contrast to the usual disposition of public men to depreciate their predecessors, and to connect their own names with new measures, of which they alone would have the credit." His laudable desire to test the qualifications of his officers by inviting conferences, and making each state his opinion, reminds us of a story of Holt Mackenzie, given in the article

* *Calcutta Review*, No. 24, December, 1849, p. 416.—"The Settlement of the North-West Provinces."

before quoted,* when the brighter days for the North-West had just arrived, and it was acknowledged that the Revenue Officers alone were able to correct the abuses of an age passed away. Holt Mackenzie was the man who made this discovery. We read that he saw the only way to obtain "an accurate knowledge of a practical, but complicated subject, hitherto little understood, was to go familiarly among the people whom it concerned; to "talk to them in office and out of office." His advice to the collectors was, "*Take your gun in your hand, and go among the people;*" to the commissioners, "*Get your collectors together over a good bottle of claret, and then talk to them about the settlement.*" The reviewer fears that one part of his counsel was often followed without the other. So, like Holt Mackenzie, John Colvin was a great advocate for relaxing the stiffness of official intercourse where information was to be gained; but he flourished at a time when drinking was less in fashion, and there was little danger of meeting a Shearman Bird of Dacca, who was said, during his life, to have consumed enough claret to float a seventy-four!

Ever anxious to place merit above seniority, he strove to get the right man into the right place, and the judiciousness of some of his appointments was of course questioned. He was the steady friend of improvement in every phase, and in the all-important matter of detecting and suppressing crime, a supervision which kept the whole machinery of the police on the alert, he showed remarkable energy. The capture of a dacoit or murderer was, with Mr. Colvin, not only a fact to note, but one to receive deep consideration. In the Revenue Department, he did much for the settlement of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, then recently attached to his Government; and he was arranging for the renewal and revision of the settlement in the North-Western Provinces, which was about to expire. [The custom was to strike an average; the revenue which each village could bear was estimated, and a settlement was made for the whole community, to last for thirty years.]†

* Page 429.

† This famous settlement was completed by the great authority on Indian revenue matters, Robert Mertins Bird, in 1841.

He was "strongly impressed with the importance of moderate and fixed assessments of the land revenue as the foundation of all improvement." On all matters relating to public works and education, Mr. Colvin brought his usual energy and minuteness to bear. It might almost be said that with him it was not enough to see the bricks in position, but he must also satisfy himself (often so necessary with dishonest native contractors), of the quality of the cement by which they are to remain as a work. Under him, in the Public Works Department, the new system arising from the abolition of the Calcutta Military Board, and the placing of all works, civil and military, under the local governments, came into operation. He prosecuted to completion the Ganges Canal, which immortalises the names of Thomason and Cautley, and opened the canal himself. Road making, under his really useful administration was advanced everywhere. He extended the machinery for popular vernacular education to all the districts, which had previously, as an experiment, only existed in a few. The writer of his memoir says most forcibly what, having gone thus far, the dullest reader can easily believe, that, "in all miscellaneous improvements, Mr. Colvin was most zealous and public-spirited, as was to be expected from his turn of mind, which readily grappled with anything and everything that presented itself." Not the least of his merits was his conduct towards the press, which was always "liberal and successful." "Indophilus" particularly mentions that Lord Auckland had the cordial support of the Calcutta press during the alarm and depression caused by the Afghan war, which support, of course, was wisely encouraged by Mr. Colvin; or we may say that the good will of the press cheered a Governor-General while his career was fast closing "in difficulties and darkness." The Lieutenant-Governor's continual desire like Mr. Thomason, to propagate useful information through the press was manifest throughout his administration. It was a common saying that Mr. Colvin "over-governed." Business greatly increased; the secretaries could not nearly keep pace with the *mens æqua in arduis* of their energetic chief. But now a cloud appears

on the horizon, and the labourer is to be taken from his works of peace and improvement. Just one hundred years after Clive "seized the keys of Hindustan" for the East India Company, the mutiny of the Bengal native army broke out—a mutiny, English readers who have not been in India should ever keep in mind, not of the Indian Army, but of the army of Bengal. It was the sudden revolt of an army, so far as friendship with the British was concerned insecure and hollow, with sepoys "full of treacherous hypocrisy." Feeding and glutting themselves on their liberal masters, they quietly and cleverly bided their time for rebellion and murder, the flame of which they were to fan with their ill-gotten gains. For a very long time, it has been well and truly said, avarice was "the sheet anchor" which kept the vessel of the Bengal army in tolerable safety; and to show the saving propensities of the sepoys we read that one regiment in Pegu saved three lacs of rupees (£30,000).* But now the minds (if such treasures they really possess), of the sepoy dominating majority, became fairly unsettled, and the time appeared to have come when the Indian statesman's prophecy was to be fulfilled, and a large portion of our countrymen were to get up in the morning with their throats cut! Englishmen began seriously to muse on the probable overthrow of a splendid empire, and to wonder if such a state of things could really be produced by the revolt of a Sepoy army. Having thus touched on the native troops of the Mutiny, we trust that, even in the sketch of a distinguished Anglo-Indian, a slight digression may be pardoned if, thinking it will add to the interest of our little volume, a reminiscence of days gone by (nearly thirty years ago) is given, from which it may be deduced by those about to pass a competitive examination, that the French were the original authors of the Sepoy Mutiny. This time we give the great nation the credit of the invention, for they used to be rather prone to invent "everything which the cunning rogues, the English, unmercifully appropriate as their own." They invented

* The Indian Crisis, 1857.—*Calcutta Review*, No. 58, December, 1857, p. 435.

fluxions, not Newton; and logarithms, not Napier; the vaccine was discovered by a French physician at Montpelier, long before Jenner was heard of; the Lancaster system of education was discovered by the Chevalier Paylett, before the revolution; Lerebours invented achromatic telescopes, not Dolland; and the French even contest the invention of Sir H. Davy's safety lamps; so now they had better take the entire credit of the Indian Mutiny. But there is one thing clear: if there had been no Bengal native army, there would have been no sepoy mutiny; and, consequently, no such terrible massacres as those of Delhi, Cawnpore, and Futtehghur. What would Dupleix and Labourdonnais—the grand promoters of French power in the East—have thought of such an insurrection, could their apotheoses have visited India in fatal 1857?

It is interesting to read how in 1644, just nine years before Fort St. George (Madras) was raised to the rank of a presidency, "Thirty recruits and a considerable amount of ordnance and military stores" were landed from England, for it was not till nearly a century later that the idea occurred to Clive of partly conquering and keeping the country by its own inhabitants. This famous notion of the Peon, or native foot-soldier, was taken by our great countryman from the shrewd Frenchman Dupleix, which fact was, on one occasion, strongly remarked on to the present writer, while on a visit to the Governor of Pondicherry. The conversation turned on the political exploits of Lord Ellenborough, and our wonderfully constituted Bengal native army; for no one ever dreamt then that in another twelve or fourteen years, such a large, mutinous crew would nearly ruin our power in Hindustan. "Look there, sir," said the sailor governor, pointing to a marble bust of Dupleix at the end of the room, "there is the man who taught you how to conquer India with its own inhabitants. You are of course aware that Clive took his idea of the native soldier entirely from this clever Frenchman?"—The Bengal army in particular, went on increasing till 1857, when the grand explosion took place; so what (with a few European troops) served the purposes of Clive, Dupleix and others in the East, during early

European conquests, was no longer to be relied on. And it is curious to note how, after the Mutiny (as if out of compliment to Clive, who won his first glories in Madras), the order of faithfulness to British rule in the native armies was clearly seen to run—Madras, Bombay, Bengal.

We left John Colvin about to be taken from his peaceful labours to face "the stern realities of the military insurrection." The chief importance of Agra lay in its proximity to the great native independent states, to the dominions of Holkar and Scindia,* and to Rajpootana. Being also the seat of Government in the North-West, and with its fort and strategical position affording the nucleus of a strong military centre, it is difficult to imagine any position at the time involving higher responsibility or requiring more commanding powers of action than that in which the Lieutenant-Governor was placed. As it turned out, "the worst massacres took place at Futtehghur and Cawnpore. There was the undying malice of the Nana, the almost entire absence of European soldiers, the contiguity of the newly settled kingdom of Oudh, and the excitable nature of a martial population, not yet tamed into forgetfulness of their old predatory habits." In a very different position was the great ruler of the Punjab. "Indophilus" tells us that "John Colvin's Government was itself the focus of the insurrection. Lawrence may be said to have been his own commander-in-chief, and after an European force had been detached to Delhi, immediately on the outbreak, he still had at his disposal seven European regiments (including one sent from Bombay to Moultan), besides European artillery, and a local Sikh force of about 20,000 first-rate irregulars of all arms." The civil governor of the North-West, as the posts were stopped, could not even communicate with the

* Holkar's death occurred the day before the anniversary of Waterloo, 1886, and that of Scindia three days after (20th June). These distinguished Hindu chiefs almost became Anglo-Indians, as they held the honorary rank of General in the English army, conferred on them by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Had Theebau of Burma possessed even a small part of the stuff which made up Holkar and Scindia, he would have now been on the throne of Alompra, and our staunch ally in Eastern Asia.

Commander-in-Chief. The Punjab ruler had three days' knowledge by telegraph (by which he is said to have saved India) of the insurrection at Meerut and Delhi, and had time for arranging for disarming the Sepoy regiments under him. Mr. Colvin had no warning, and the military revolt had "actually taken place within his government, and the mutineers were in possession of Delhi before he could begin to act." He had only time to look about him, and perhaps hear people invoking Lord Dalhousie, who had recently left India,* in the forcible language of a lady poet of the rebellion:—

> "Come back to us: the tiger, which we deemed
> So tame, has broken loose, missing thy hand,
> Most firm, yet gentle; and this glorious land
> Is full of his foul slaughters."

But when he did act, he acted with promptitude and vigor. About a week after the Mutiny began, or on the 17th May, Lord Canning telegraphed to Mr. Colvin, thanking him most cordially for what had been "so admirably done," and for keeping that most valuable of treasures at such a crisis—"a stout heart." At Agra he held a parade of the troops, clearly explaining to them that the Government had no intention whatever to interfere with their religion and caste; he strengthened the fort, and threw into it a large amount of supplies; he raised a body of volunteers (horse), who afterwards did good service; and called upon Scindiah and the neighbouring native states to use their contingents in keeping open the roads and preserving the peace of the country. In a spirit which Vauban or Cormontaigne would have admired, he strongly deprecated any "premature abandonment of our position." He wrote to the Governor-General on the 22nd of May:—"It is a vitally useful lesson to be learnt from the experience of present events that not one step should be yielded in retreat on an outbreak in India which can be avoided with any safety." Surely the strictest and most able and impartial civil or military critic will confess that John Colvin had

* In March, 1856.

nobly done his duty up to this mark. But now was about to come the unfortunate proclamation—the "mild proclamation," as it was jeeringly called—which, rightly or wrongly, has been seized upon by historians and other writers to detract from his fame. The "quality of mercy" in a ruler had never been so severely called in question before. Even a faint shadow of mercy was quite out of the question until the fearful crisis was over. The unfortunate proclamation came about in this fashion:—As early as the 15th May, Mr. Colvin urgently recommended the issue of a proclamation by the Governor-General, to disabuse the Sepoys of the delusions under which they laboured, and to give a bridge for the faithful to walk over and separate themselves from the mutineers. On the 24th of May he reiterated the advice. He was strongly opposed to a general severity towards all, thinking that such action would "estrange the remainder of the army." "Hope," he wrote, "I am firmly convinced should be held out to all those who were not ringleaders, or actively concerned in murder or violence." He wished the Commander-in-Chief to be authorised to act upon such a line of policy, adding, "When means of escape are thus open to those who can be admitted to mercy, the remainder will be considered obstinate traitors, even by their own countrymen, who will have no hesitation in siding against them." The subject being of "vital and pressing importance," Mr. Colvin requested "the earliest answer to this message." The pressure to act in some manner regarding a proclamation must have been very strong indeed. The idea of a successful issue of his own model had evidently taken firm hold on his mind; and certainly, at such an awful time, to many it seemed to depend, like a man's fortune, on the toss up of a halfpenny whether success would follow, or otherwise. Without waiting for an answer from the Viceroy, on the following day (May 25th) he reported that he had taken *the decisive step*. "Supported," he wrote, "by the unanimous opinion of all officers of experience here, that this mutiny is not one to be put down by high-handed authority, and thinking it essential at present to give a favourable turn to the feelings of the Sepoys who have not yet entered

against us, I have taken the grave responsibility of issuing on my own authority the following proclamation." Order and control in many of his districts had vanished. His latest letter from Meerut was now seven days old, and not a single letter had reached him from the Commander-in-Chief.* Surely India was never in such a mess, nor Local Governor placed in such a disagreeable plight before. We seriously cannot help thinking that, had Lord Dalhousie been in power, Mr. Colvin would not under any circumstances have issued his proclamation; but would have contented himself with other means at his disposal for keeping order and preventing the spread of disaffection—at least, until he heard from the Governor-General. The Lieutenant-Governor seemed to have some intuitive knowledge of the *slowness*, where grave political matters required speedy decision, of Lord Canning's mind! Action was indeed necessary at Agra; but the very commencement of the Lieutenant-Governor's proclamation was unfortunate:—"Soldiers engaged in the late disturbances, who are desirous of going to their own homes, and who give up their arms at the nearest Government civil or military post, and retire quietly, shall be permitted to do so unmolested." While all Anglo-India was, with the deepest execration, thirsting for revenge on the merciless rebels; while Siva wore his most destructive attire, and his wife, Kali, her most ghastly necklace of skulls; while even their fat, elephant-headed son, Ganesa, seemed to have abjured his protective qualities for ruthless slaughter, and (in Shaksperian language) if ever hell was empty and all the devils present in a tempest it was now, it certainly did seem hardly the time for any show of mercy. Action of some sort, however, was necessary. But without a large European force to back Mr. Colvin's efforts, what was to be done? The concluding paragraph of the proclamation is decisive enough as to punishment:—"Every evil-minded Instigator in the disturbance, and those guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, shall be punished.

* Who was preparing for the siege of Delhi. On his march thither General Anson died of cholera, brought on by overwork, at Karnaul, 27th of May.

All those who appear in arms against the Government after this notification is known, shall be treated as open enemies." It was almost beyond human judgment, in such an unprecedented crisis, "to know what were good to do;" so the author of the proclamation, from a strong sense of duty, risked his reputation by an act which was sure to become more public than any other. "Indophilus" cites two cases from history which justify Mr. Colvin, so far as precedent is concerned. These are—the Mutiny at the Nore, and the Irish Rebellion; and any one carefully reading the Royal Proclamation on the former, and the preamble of the Irish Act of Parliament of George III. on the latter insurrection, will see that the course adopted by John Colvin was the usual one on such occasions. In an ordinary state of public feeling, it is remarked "that unsparing military executions would not have been considered justifiable until the attempt had been made to distinguish between the leaders and followers, between those who struck the blow and added outrage to insubordination, and those who passively or willingly yielded to the movement of the body to which they belonged." To this it was replied that there should have been no parleying with rebels, and that the armed opposition should have been put down before discriminating between different degrees of guilt. On this point "Indophilus" remarks, that if Mr. Colvin had waited till then, it would have been too late. "The object was, to apply a solvent to reduce the compact mass of rebellion to its elements, and to give to the well-disposed an opportunity of returning to their allegiance, leaving the guilty remainder to their well-deserved fate." Less reflective men might have acted better, seeing that it was during an *extraordinary* "state of public feeling," and on the principle of violent diseases requiring violent remedies. But such a mode of action was not to be expected from the high judicial mind of John Colvin. The proclamation was universally approved at Agra. It seemed to his advisers that it was the right thing to do at that time, and under those circumstances. And this forces a remark somewhat similar to what Johnson applied to the writing of the poet Savage under difficulties:

"How many other able and distinguished civilians in India, had they been at Agra, would have acted better than Colvin?" But the difficulty of obtaining evidence as to guilt on giving up arms was severely commented on by the head of the Indian Government. A new proclamation, directed by the Governor-General, fell flat just as much as his Lieutenant-Governor's did; and, taken as a whole, it was identical in substance with a telegraphic message from Lord Canning, "bearing the same date as the proclamation, but received subsequently to its being issued." Colvin wrote to his family, that they might understand the grounds of his conduct:—"That those who had taken a leading or a deliberately malignant part in the revolt would ever seek to take advantage of the notification, we know to be quite out of the question. The chance that seemed open, through the proclamation, of escape to such persons, was what called forth the heavy censure at many distant points: but we who were nearer the scene, and knew the real spirit of the revolt, could not entertain such a supposition." If Mr. Colvin had lived to complete his defence, he might have added, "that the Governor-General afterwards himself issued a circular letter, in which the principle was fully admitted that a distinction ought to be made between the innocent and guilty, even in Sepoy regiments which have murdered their officers, and that punishment ought to be founded upon some proof of individual guilt; and the Governor-General's circular was issued on the 31st July, when all hope of securing an immediate political result by inducing the comparatively innocent to separate themselves from their more guilty associates had passed away—which was not the case in May, when the character of the insurrection had not been fully developed." "Indophilus" concludes this masterly part of his memoir by remarking, with the clear judgment and impartiality of a true friend and critic:—"The difficulty of obtaining evidence must have been encountered at some time or other, unless it had been determined to make no distinction between the Sepoys belonging to the offending regiments, whatever their individual conduct might have been." On the question of Lord Canning being blamed for

his clemency, an able writer, the year after the Mutiny, was of opinion that nobody ever blamed the Governor-General for being clement. He was *not* clement in the commencement of 1857, and had no chance of being so; the sepoys had it all their own way. "What we all objected to, was Lord Canning's *discourse* about clemency at a time when Europeans were prostrate at the mercy of a bloodthirsty enemy." When Delhi was taken, India saved, and Lucknow had fallen, it was the time for "mercy and pacification;" for then "the crisis was overpast." Another able writer—one very far from being prejudiced either in favour of Lord Canning or Mr. Colvin—shrewdly remarks: "If many guiltless must have fallen at first under the blind rage of the English or the grosser greed of the Sikh soldiery, it seems clear that some needless waste of lives and property, sowing in its turn rich crops of fear and hatred in the minds of people otherwise loyally, at any rate peacefully, disposed, must be laid to the rash zeal of those civil officers for whose guidance Lord Canning framed the resolution of the 31st July."* Doubtless, Mr. Colvin had similar motives when, in the early development of the Mutiny, he issued his proclamation.

Lord Canning's proclamation of May 16th has been compared to pouring a bottle of oil upon a stormy sea "to quell the wild tumult of its waves;" but notwithstanding, to the Governor-General's credit, he, at the same time, awoke to unmistakeable energy, which showed that he did not put his trust in papers or other statecraft. He immediately summoned European troops from all quarters, despatched ships to intercept the Chinese expedition under Lord Elgin, and called for speedy and large reinforcements from home. He also proclaimed martial law in the disturbed districts. It should also be kept in mind that Mr. Colvin was the first in the latter particular, by asking leave to proclaim martial law around Meerut; that, while the cantonment fires—those "red forerunners of evil"—were raging "in the very seat of his rule," he showed remarkable energy; and that, at the end of May, two companies of

* Trotter's "History of the British Empire in India," vol. ii p. 285.

native troops having mutinied at Muttra (twenty miles from Agra), he disarmed the remainder of the two regiments to which they belonged (the bulk of them slipping off to Oudh or Delhi); in their default, the English band of volunteers which Mr. Colvin had raised, taking their place, and doing admirable service.* It was Mr. Colvin, also, who first urged on Lord Canning that the returning Persian force be at once ordered round to Bengal. Judged by such activity of mind for the public welfare, the subject of our sketch appears in a fair way to be more admired by posterity than by some highly-intelligent Anglo-Indians of the present time; like many writers, too prone to judge a man's career by one action only. John Colvin said truly, in the letter to his family, already quoted—that his "proclamation remained a mere trifling incident in the great series of events." From this sketch, perhaps, the useful lesson may be gained, that all proclamations in India, at a time of an extraordinary revolt, when every calculation, on ordinary grounds, for its suppression, has a very great chance of being in error, are utterly useless. There is no help for it at present, but to be constantly prepared, at all the important posts in the country, with a strong European force, and such aids for a general plan of fortification as our best engineers may deem advisable. A force of 65,000 or 70,000 men is certainly the minimum of European troops we should have in India, including a very strong force of artillery, of which the Oriental mind has a wholesome dread (the Burmese used to style even our 12-pounder rockets "devil-sticks"); and then, with such a speedy mode of transport of fully equipped batteries by rail to any scene of outbreak or disaster, as that recently carried out† by Sir Charles Reid—under whom a fully equipped battery of artillery was moved from Umritsur to Meean Meer by railway at a few minutes' notice by a telegram—and with the hope of 30,000 more

* Towards the end of May, in connection with the progress of rebellion near Agra, may particularly be mentioned the brave stand made at Mainpoorie, to the eastward, by Lieutenant de Kantzow, "a noble example," as Lord Canning well said, "of courage, patience, good judgment, and temper."

† November, 1874.

men from home and the colonies, ready for service in India at a day's notice, with various important changes in the constitution of our native armies, which need not be mentioned here. India would become tolerably safe; and it will remain so, till the people having, through its being made known to them by every available avenue, learned the force and excellence of Christian truth, the transition state of the Native mind, prophesied by Sir Charles Trevelyan, shall have arrived, and we behold a nation "born in a day!"

Mr. Colvin's life was now fast drawing to a close. So much responsibility had rarely been laid on one man's shoulders, and no wonder his health was shattered. That terrible energy which kills more public men than is generally supposed, was now in full play. A hostile force, composed chiefly of the Neemuch Brigade, arrived within a short march of Agra. Quarters had been prepared for the entire Christian population in the old Royal Residence, which had little of the character of a fort; and into this place of refuge they went, while the main body of our much smaller force marched out to meet the rebels. On the 25th of August the fort had 4,289 inmates, including the European Regiment and the Artillery. There were 2,514 women and non-adults. But everything had been foreseen and arranged, and the bad effects of compressing such a multitude into a small space prevented. That watchful care of others, which so distinguished his life, now became more and more apparent. But the Lieutenant-Governor had received his death stroke. The guns of the fort commanded all that was left of the vast Government he had striven so hard to improve. Even the remnant was threatened by a war-cloud from the direction of Gwalior. Mr. Colvin's first attack of illness immediately preceded his removal into the fort; but, in spite of the advice of kind friends, he would not cease from work. Eventually he was transferred to "the freer air of cantonments," which gave him but temporary benefit. His son, Elliott, who was out in the district, was just recalled in time "to see and be recognised by his father." Mrs. Colvin

ing in Switzerland, on her way home to England. "On Wednesday afternoon, the 9th of September," writes "Indophilus," "he sank quietly, without a pain, to his last blessed sleep," and was buried inside the fort on the following morning. In the notification of his death by the Government of India (September 19th), a fine passage occurs:—"Worn by the unceasing anxieties and labours of his charge, which placed him in the very front of the dangers by which of late India has been threatened, health and strength gave way, and the Governor-General-in-Council has to deplore, with sincere grief, the loss of one of the most distinguished among the servants of the East India Company."

He could discuss literary and political subjects with the ablest men of the day; but "the warm and genial qualities of his heart were his crowning excellence." Colvin is described as one of the last of our Indian statesmen who derived their inspiration by immediate tradition from Malcolm, Munro, Metcalfe, and Bentinck. "These wise master-builders completed the edifice of our Indian Empire on the solid foundation of good faith, justice, and personal respect. Many of their disciples devoted themselves to the interests of the natives with a self-denying zeal which has been seldom equalled."

Had he lived a short time longer, we can imagine with what delight he would have read of the brilliant siege of Delhi (20th September), when the tide of disaster turned, and India passed out of its "dark phase of mourning;" of the deeds of the "glorious Nicholson," and of Hodson, "the Cavalier of Cavaliers;" all turning him to think of the people, justice, and the settlement in his loved North-West Provinces, where "the labours of Robert Bird, Thomason, and Colvin will not be in vain." Reviewing the life of Mr. Colvin, we cannot help being of opinion that, during his Indian career, he did his vast amount of work ever under the strong impulse of duty. For such a crisis as the great Sepoy rebellion, he may be said to have been, like Lord Canning (who won high honours at Oxford), over-cultivated. More rough and ready material, with half the brains, perhaps, would have done better at such a crisis. Military men are

not, as a rule, so highly educated as civilians who rise to distinction. But their profession particularly fits them for action in troublous times; and this tends to impress us with the idea that men like Sir John Malcolm, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir James Outram, and Sir Herbert Edwardes, can go anywhere and do anything. The frequent over-cultivation in the civilian tends to make him halt between two opinions, to seek a reason for all he does, which will not do in a crisis requiring speedy action. The military political, without any judicial or legal training, has only his common sense to lead him straight to the point. This is apt to remind one of the well-known story of the great Lord Mansfield, who, being asked by a distinguished general officer, with judicial as well as military duties to perform, what he should do, as his inexperience and ignorance of technical jurisprudence would prove a serious impediment to his efficient administration of justice. "Make your mind perfectly easy," said the great judge; "trust to your native good sense in forming your own opinions, but beware of attempting to state the grounds of your judgment. The judgment will probably be right—the argument infallibly wrong." Mr. Colvin left seven sons, three of whom are in the Bengal Civil Service, Bazett, Elliott, and Auckland Colvin, the latter holding the important post of Secretary to Government, North-West Provinces. The fourth son, Clement, is in the India Office, was recently Private Secretary to the Duke of Argyll, and is now in that capacity to Sir Louis Mallet, Under Secretary of State for India.

While concluding this imperfect sketch of a distinguished Anglo-Indian, the clock announced that 1874 had passed away; the writer, therefore, cannot help remarking how admirably the severe trial of the old year—the Bengal famine—has come to a close. Wonderful energy has been shown by Englishmen in the year that has gone, which must prove to the natives of India that, in works of real necessity and charity, Great Britain is ever to the fore. India must now be fully aware that, under Providence, we can arrest the disastrous famine as well as put down the deadly rebellion. In the fatal year 1857, at the very outbreak of the Mutiny, the

writer occupied an important post near Hyderabad, the huge and wicked city of the Dekhan, where, although we had one rather serious disturbance, peace was well preserved through the tact of the Nizam's most able Minister, the illustrious Salar Jung, the prudent action of Colonel Davidson, the Resident at Hyderabad, and the precautionary measures taken by the officer commanding the Subsidiary Force.* This slight reminiscence compels a thought of how glad we, in India, were to part with a year which had been so fatal to so many of our brave countrymen; and, although we have still to be with the "avenging angel" during that period, while the, in many respects, glorious old year of 1874 (to many like an old friend) has just departed, perhaps it will not be out of place to give the following admirable sonnet, from the "Poetry of the Rebellion," which would have done no discredit to Wordsworth, on

1857.

"Depart! depart! We ever bid farewell
To our old years with a quick, sudden pain
Around our hearts, as if we would again
Recall the past by working of a spell;
But thou art different, and we would compel
Thee from our homes, if power were to constrain
Thy speedy parting. Wane, O quickly wane,
Sad moon, and let us hear the signal bell.
Old year, wrap thy blood-stained robes around,
And take thy staff within thy trembling palm,
And leave us; wait thou not for blessing-sound,
For lingering clasp of hand, soothing as balm:
We standing in a silentness profound,
Shall watch thy going, still, relieved, and calm."†

MARY LESLIE.

* Brigadier, afterwards Major-General Sir Isaac Campbell Coffin, K.C.S.I.

† *Calcutta Review*, No. 62, December, 1868, p. 360.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL NEILL.

(A BRIEF REVIEW OF HIS MILITARY CAREER.)*

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The "Second Burmese War," like, perhaps, most other recent military narratives, has been entirely cast into the shade by the more stirring and novel matter of the Bengal Sepoy Revolt. Such a cloud, so awful in result, being as every one hopes, about, to give way to a prospect "bright and advancing," the minds of some may once more turn to Pegu, the province but a few years conquered, where, during the times of bloodshed and rebellion, during a chaos of darkness, disorder and ruin throughout a large portion of India, the sunshine of a tranquil and increasing prosperity has steadily appeared; and where now, it may safely be said, Justice really breathes, and Civilization, after a hard struggle, is really born.

On the present occasion, however, let us allow Pegu to claim our sympathy for another reason. It is the land where Havelock and Neill first displayed those peculiar qualities which eventually led them on, in Bengal and Oudh, to success and victory.

True enough, neither of them were leading men,—the *fulmina belli*, as they have since been styled,—neither of them held the rank of General in Pegu; but Havelock, with his Company of Europeans, in the first, and Neill, with his Adjutant-General's duties, in the second Burmese War, did quite enough to show, that, if opportunity offered, they would one day make a mighty progress on the path to fame.

To both this opportunity came rather late in life; but not

* Written at Nagpore, December, 1858.

too late to exhibit judgment combined with "dash" and vast powers of enduring fatigue, reminding us of Clive at Arcot or Plassey, and of the ablest soldiers that have been reared in this our "nursery of Captains." Literature, also, is indebted to the departed heroes. Both were military writers of no ordinary capacity; and we naturally grieve to think, that the pen of Havelock which wrote the "Campaigns in Ava," more than thirty years ago, and that of Neill, which recorded the "services of the First Madras European regiment,"—the immortal Fusiliers,—will never tell us more than has already been told of that glorious career of triumphs at the crowning goal of which Neill fell and Havelock died, —the former dying, in the strictest sense, "as heroes wish to die," and the latter departing while nobly reviewing the conduct of a well-spent life.

Havelock, who had chronicled the privations and sufferings of the troops at Rangoon in 1824, had throughout his career seen death in all its varieties; and his remark to Sir J. Outram, in the last victory, "I have so ruled my life that, when death came, I might face it without fear," perhaps owes some of its power and beauty to scenes of suffering he had witnessed in the land of the Golden Foot.* The exit of this hero points to a remark of old Montaigne—"Where death waits for us is uncertain; but let us everywhere look for him. The premeditation of death is the premeditation of liberty; he who has learnt to die has forgot what it is to be a slave."

That noble-minded Frenchman, Montalembert, has done full justice to Havelock, and to that admirable spirit of the Puritans which still exists in our Army.

To the memory of both heroes their countrymen have done great honour: and, as belonging to Madras, we read with pride what has been done to raise a monument to Neill,† as

* It was at Rangoon that Sir A. Campbell, the General Commanding, when informed of the enemy approaching one of our posts, said, "Call out Havelock's saints; they are never drunk, and he is always ready."—"Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock," p. 39.

† The statue at the Presidency, since raised in honour of Neill, is a most interesting work of art.

well as to assist the widow and the fatherless of the Madras Fusiliers, which regiment has played so distinguished a part in putting down the rebellion.

It was during the march of the Martaban Column, in 1853, that our attention was first drawn to Major Neill, Assistant-Adjutant-General. Every one remembers Napier's account of the British Infantry soldier in the "Peninsular War;" and on seeing Neill, with his powerful frame and lofty port, forming a noble specimen of military bearing, one might well have supposed he was proud to have risen in a corps which possessed, rather than these features, the quality of sustaining fatigue with incredible vigour, undeniable firmness in battle, and, "the fount of honour full and fresh within;" but which attributes, as was afterwards apparent, he also shared in common with the Madras Fusiliers, as hardy and daring a body of infantry as the world ever saw.

As Captain of the Grenadier company of his corps, he was an especial favourite with the men. Of this we have been well assured by those who have served under him in the ranks.

His services in Turkey, during the recent war with Russia, belong more to the pen than to the sword. Instruction in military duties, and attention to discipline, for which some years of service in the Adjutant-General's department* should well qualify a zealous and efficient officer, had probably something to do with laying the foundation of Neill's after fame in India.

His services in Burma had procured him the army rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and he served as Brigadier-General with the Turkish Contingent. On the eve of his return to India, General Vivian† wrote to the Court of Directors, with a view of bringing under their notice the estimation he felt for Neill's merits and services, particularizing the zeal and efficiency with which he commanded a division of in-

* Havelock had been Quartermaster-General of Queen's Troops, and afterwards Adjutant-General.

† Sir R. J. H. Vivian, K.C.B. Now (1874–75) G.C.B., and late Member of the Indian Council.

tantry from the period when the Turkish Contingent was organized "until its re-transfer to the Sultan's government." This was duly communicated to the Government he had the honour to serve; and by the time he arrived in India, about the end of March, 1857, but a very few months had to elapse, before he would do full honour to that Government.

Before viewing his career, in the last stirring scenes of his life, a slight retrospect may not be uninteresting.

When Neill arrived in Burma in 1852, it may be said he had seen no field service, although the date of his commission as Ensign was as far back as January, 1827.

Spectamur Agendo, the motto of his regiment, with its long list of triumphs, commencing at Arcot and Plassey, was to be fulfilled by Neill and his gallant corps, a century after Clive had won India for us, in Bengal and Oudh, rather than in Burma, the country which the Fusiliers now visited, to support the glory of our arms, for the second time.

The fame of this distinguished corps is well known to the reader of Indian military history. It was in the year 1755 that the Madras Artillery and the First Madras European regiment were first regularly incorporated. In 1756, the English and French forces on the Coromandel Coast were nearly equal, each consisting of some 2,000 Europeans and 10,000 natives. The British force included H.M.'s 39th regiment, *Primus in Indis*. The Madras Artillery and Fusiliers may be said to have borne the brunt of the early (which is, in one sense, the principal) portion of the conquest of our Indian Empire. In those days of Lawrence and Clive it was difficult indeed to make way against French intrigue and native treachery; and when, notwithstanding vast progress had been made, and numerous deeds of valour had been accomplished, we at length find the two corps present in Bengal, retrieving the fallen fortunes of that Presidency; and now, about a century after Clive's defence of Arcot, they were serving, each for the second time, in Burma, while fortune had favoured Bengal, and allowed it to pride itself on nearly all the recent military glory of the East!"*

* "Pegu, a Narrative," &c., p. 65.

The doings, on the 4th June, at Benares will be recited upon in due time; but in connection with the foregoing historical remarks, it may not be out of place here to note that, on the said 4th June, Lieutenant Crump, of the Madras Artillery, rendered important services at Benares, and fell in the gallant discharge of his duties at Lucknow.

At the time of meeting the Assistant-Adjutant-General while on service with the Martaban Column, to procure notes on the subject of the then very recent relief of Pegu, in which he had shared with his commander, General Steel,* was of more importance to us than to photograph the future hero. One day, after a long march, he acceded to our request to furnish some, and the result was a donation of six or seven pages of closely-written manuscript, when the column reached Tonghoo.

From these materials the chief portion of the ninth chapter in "Pegu, a Narrative of the Second Burmese War," was composed, with an endeavour to preserve as much as possible Neill's own views on the relief of Pegu, and the subsequent operations, about which, having been present, and possessing the experience of a military writer, he would, doubtless, give the world a valuable opinion.†

Nothing could be better than Neill's reasons for fully expecting that General Godwin would, after relieving Pegu, and in order to free the garrison from the near position of the Burmese Army, wait for the land column, which was on its way from Rangoon, proving that he quite understood the value of combining Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry, especially where a small body is to attack a large one. And yet it seems simple enough, though even Generals not unknown to fame have occasionally disregarded the solution of the problem, that well-equipped artillery, especially when furnished with plenty of canister (say Brigadier Miller's allotment), compensate for small numbers of infantry; and after success by either infantry or artillery, against a compara-

* Sir S. W. Steel, K.C.B., a distinguished (Madras) Indian Officer.

† For this account of the relief of Pegu and other operations, see "Pegu, a Narrative," p. 120; also "Our Burmese Wars," &c., p. 236. Neill's Letter and "Remarks" will be found at the close of this Sketch.

freely numerous force, without cavalry how is it possible to follow up and cut off the enemy? Military judgment was the grand requisite wanting in the present instance: and there can be no doubt that General Godwin, with an enemy before him without any disposition to retire, should have either himself waited, or deputed his next in command, General Steel, to wait for the column, so as, in the gallant Neill's own words, "to disperse the enemy with effect."

When the time for action came, even under unfavourable circumstances, decision of character, as shown in the following remarks, gleams forth in the character of Neill. During the operations, dispositions were made for attacking in two columns, of which the left was placed under General Steel; but, the attack of the left column having been countermanded, the "rapid dash" Neill wished with all his heart was not made; and so the enemy walked leisurely off. And again, during the same operations, while a good opportunity offered, he deplores the want of "a steady active advance to bring our troops into action." In alluding to these two occasions, Neill's own words are almost entirely used in the "Narrative." "These plans of attack were admirably conducted until it came to the moment for acting, when it appeared as if the veteran chief lacked decision, and seemed to be unconscious of the enemy passing away before him."

But, with that generosity which might be expected from a noble-minded soldier, he highly praises the relief of Pegu, General Godwin's great "coolness under fire," and the "entire disregard of self" evinced by the gallant chief, which few who had seen him on service could have failed to observe.

And again, it is from Neill's manuscript the sentiment comes, that, during "the three days' work," none displayed "greater endurance than General Godwin himself, and several of the oldest officers who accompanied him."

Alas! how many of the devoted band have since died or fallen in battle, including Neill and Renaud, the Fusilier Officers; both, it may be said, "in the blaze of their fame."

Neill, like the knight of old,* whose chivalrous death he

* Sir Philip Sidney.

seemed to emulate, doubtless looked into his heart and wrote: so judging from the above strictures on the operations in Burma, he would have acted strictly in the way he recommended; and, judging from the attributes he so warmly praises in others, it is pleasing to think, and his short but brilliant career in Oudh eminently supports the assertion, that these attributes shone with a peculiar lustre in his own character. Qualities such as he possessed are rarely to be found combined in one man; and now he comes before us as the Officer of the Madras Presidency, the right man in the very nick of time, to do what Clive did a century before with a handful of the very same Regiment, and even to do more than retrieve the fallen fortunes of Bengal,—to strike deeply at the root of a deadly mutiny which threatened an Empire, show a bold front to Rebellion, and save Benares, the stronghold of Siva the destroyer, the city of the sacred bulls and sacred water, with temples second only in mythological and religious importance among the Hindus to Jagannáth, the "Lord of the world."

The story of Neill at the Calcutta (Howrah) railway station has been told in various ways. The most striking picture which rests on the mind is as follows:—Neill's sudden arrival at the station with a portion of his gallant Fusiliers—the determination of the Colonel to wait for the rest of a detachment—the carriages filled with passengers for "up-country," Europeans, natives, and East Indians—the surprise of the station-master and railway officials at being told to wait, and, on the arrival of the missing men, unload, and make way for the troops—the natural hesitation on their part—the determined look of Neill, and glance at a Corporal's guard who would execute if the order were not immediately obeyed—Neill assuming *pro tem.* the position of station-master—a few rather strong oaths decidedly audible—the bewilderment of the various passengers—the eventual "clearing" of the train, and its occupation by the Fusiliers—the sullen looks of the guard and engineer, as the train moved off under such extraordinary compulsion with a whistle and a scream to Benares!"

Benares, the "Lotus of the world," has been graphically

described by Heber and Macaulay. The picture of Siva, as drawn in the Puránas, seems strongly prophetic of the vile arch-fiend of Bithoor, whose bloody work was so soon about to commence. Siva in Benares, in the pride of Satanic majesty, appearing here and there, at one time sitting in his chief temple "covered with the ashes of a funeral pile, ornamented with human skulls and bones;" at another, wandering about, with dishevelled hair, "sometimes laughing and sometimes crying."

At this stronghold of Hinduism, Colonel Neill, with only a detachment of his Fusiliers, arrived on the eve of the 4th June, the night of which had been appointed for a general rising in the "holy city." Here, in the strictest sense, thought was action. This was the first arrival of an additional European regiment in Bengal, and hopes of relief from Europe were yet distant. Down went the spirit of mutiny before the judicious arrangements and untiring energy of Neill! With only 200 men of his own Regiment, and about half a battery of guns,—at first, through causes afterwards explained, hindered rather than assisted by the Sikhs he had so much admired in Pegu,—he dispersed the mutineers with great slaughter, restored order and confidence, and saved Benares. The vast importance of this service, we are afraid, has not yet been quite understood. It was the first stroke in earnest made by British power at the root of the Indian rebellion. Neill had anticipated the movement of the mutineers as one who knew how much reliance to place on Native character; and his triumph was complete.

Clive declared, if he had known the Native language he never would have conquered India; for he might have believed all the lies that he heard, and have been cheated accordingly. Neill seems to have had the great General in his eye when commencing his labours; so, whether it be at the Howrah terminus, or at Benares, we have few words, but a good deal of action, and abundance of decision of character. A mind such as his, which acknowledged only one path, the path of duty, was the right sort of mind for this most formidable crisis. Jomini, in his "Art of War,"

in enumerating the qualitites most essential for a Commander, declares they will ever be a "great character, or moral courage, which leads to great resolutions; then *sang-froid*, or physical courage, which predominates over dangers." * Neill was the man to make and to carry out great resolutions. The slightest pusillanimity or want of decision at Benares might have lost us Calcutta; and who can say what would have been the end of such a disaster?

When comparative order had been restored, Neill passed on to Allahabad. Celebrated as to position for a great city, situated at the junction of the two mighty streams, the Ganges and the Jumna, from which, so far as the cleansing away from sin is concerned, the city has, perhaps, as great a religious importance as Benares, the destroyer was very likely to be equally busy at work.

What Bishop Heber thought, that it might revive to greater prosperity than it possessed when he beheld it, seems now, from the improvements being carried on, to be in course of realisation; and, not the least honour to Allahabad, at the present time, it was from this city came forth the State paper which so nobly defended the policy pursued in Oudh during the rebellion, putting many literary rebels to confusion, and proving the writer to be a statesman worthy of the great name he bears, and, in some respects, deserving to be styled, as Canning said of William Pitt, "the pilot who weathered the storm!"

Had Burke lived in our time, he might have exclaimed, "What a deadly and cruel rebellion!" and pronounced the crisis to be one more difficult to steer through than had perplexed any English statesman since the Conquest.

The progress of Neill up the valley of the Ganges—a mission of relief, as it has been styled, "bringing retribution in his van and leaving order in his rear"—adds extraordinary lustre to the stern excellence of his military character.

On his arrival at Allahabad, with a small detachment of the Fusiliers, although too late to save the Europeans from

* "Art of War."—Article, Military Policy.

the mutineers, he was yet in time to restore order, to defeat and put the rebels to flight; and, on this occasion, the Sikhs who were in the fort, again elicited his admiration, fighting as they now did with extraordinary vigour.

The remainder of the Fusiliers having arrived, were dispatched by Neill, under Major Renaud, in advance, towards Cawnpore. A force of some 800 or 900 men was placed under this admirable officer; and on the same day, the last of June, General Havelock arrived at Allahabad; and the chief command of the small but gallant army was accordingly transferred to him. Up to this time, our Brigadier-General had been the foremost man in the valley of the Ganges.

The magnanimity of Neill on this occasion—the most galling that can be to a true soldier in command—was quite as conspicuous as his gallantry and devotion to the public service after he had left Calcutta. Instead of his energy diminishing, it steadily increased. As in most revolutions and political convulsions, there is room enough for many great men, so it was in this deadly Indian rebellion. Envy or jealousy formed no portion of Neill's failings. Cawnpore had now to be retaken, Lucknow to be rescued, and the most bloody massacre of the innocents in history had yet to be avenged. Havelock's victorious progress to Cawnpore is well known; and distinguished among the brave who fell in it is the name of Major Renaud, of the Fusiliers. General Havelock had left Neill at Allahabad, who now, it may be said, having saved that station, was ordered by his superior to push on with every available man and join him at Cawnpore. He arrived on the 20th July. The relieving General was assisted by Neill across the Ganges on the 21st; and then began his celebrated march to relieve Lucknow. Left at Cawnpore, in supreme command, the energy of Neill's character seemed to burn brighter than ever. At Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore (where he organised a local police) he showed administrative ability—that kind which was adapted to such a crisis—only second to his power of military command. Some may think him severe in punishment. On our first seeing a private letter

from one of the Madras Fusiliers to a friend, describing how the captured Brahman Sepoy murderers, before suffering a well-merited death on the gallows, were ordered to be flogged into the slaughter-house at Cawnpore, and there compelled to clean up the blood of the poor victims they had so mercilessly shed, it became a question which to admire most, the originality of the mode of punishment, or its tremendous severity. Neill did this! But, after all, was it a severe enough retribution? Could it bring back the loved and lost? Havelock's force, from 1,200, had increased at Cawnpore to 1,500. Neill had also sent on numbers of soldiers he could not spare to answer the call of the daring General in advance for reinforcements. In one of Havelock's letters at this time, alluding to some traitors in his force, "traitors in heart to their fostering government," whom he had ordered back and placed under the care of Neill for work in the intrenchments, he significantly says—"He will look after them." This reminds us of what Wellington might have said of Picton, in an emergency, being quite sure he would do his duty

The period was a terrible time of suspense to the British in India. All eyes were turned to the progress of Havelock towards Lucknow. But his force was inadequate; and cholera, that "angel of death," which so frequently appears in our Indian armies,* had been lessening it as well as the enemy. Having done all that man could do, the General abandoned the attempt, to use his own words, "with great grief and reluctance," re-crossed the Ganges, and on the 13th August he was again with the indefatigable Neill at Cawnpore.

Immediately after Havelock's arrival, we find our Brigadier-General marching out of the intrenchments, which, with his usual foresight, he had made, and with his accustomed daring and ability completely defeating a rebel force which was endeavouring to prevent our communication with Allahabad. The return of Havelock's force to Cawnpore, it is supposed, saved that city from the troops of the Nana,

* Cholera first began its devastations among our troops in the great Mahratta War in 1817, under the Marquis of Hastings.

which were gathering like a thunder-cloud around it. In this case, as throughout the rebellion, the mysterious workings of a kind Providence became strongly apparent. Passing over the well-known advance against Bithoor, after which victory Havelock's most memorable despatch was penned—and where the Madras Fusiliers were, as usual, second to none—we now behold the trio of heroes, Havelock, Outram, and Neill, setting out on one of the grandest missions in the world's history, the second effort for the relief of Lucknow.

General Outram, with that high-souled knowledge of what is noble and right, although the senior, left Havelock in command.

A month had elapsed since the return of the first relieving army to Cawnpore. Even now, with the reinforcements brought by Outram from Allahabad, the force was deemed hardly adequate to the mighty attempt about to be made in Oudh. Two brigades of infantry, one of artillery, and a few cavalry, made the whole amount of the relieving army. Neill's brigade, the first, was composed of three Royal regiments and his own First Madras Fusiliers. This column of men—or rather, in the old Guard phraseology, this column of granite, was composed of rare fighting material, and commanded by generals not "rocked and dandled" into command, but who had in war, if not in politics, in the spirit of the great Burke, *Nitor in adversum*, fought their way to distinction.

The relief of Lucknow was an enterprise of the most extraordinary character. When Napoleon found all Europe arrayed against him, neither he nor his brave followers put forth more superhuman effort than that which, during a time when those we have taught the art of war had turned against us, appeared in the commanders and men who now pushed forward to effect this grand object. There is nothing in history to compare with it. The relief of Lucknow, in the face of such overwhelming numbers of the enemy, stands forth unique in its peculiar intenseness from every other military effort. The Residency might fall into the enemy's hands before it could be reached—the Cawnpore massacre,

on a more awful scale, might be repeated; so on went the band of heroes, in the face of every danger, to the relief of suffering humanity. The fortified outpost of the Alumbagh reached, the battle won there made hope beat high for a moment in every heart. The relieving army was at the entrance of the city. The determined resistance, however, at the Kaiser Bagh, proved the determination and force of the insurgents to be even greater than was supposed. To go on appeared the only chance of success. Night would soon overtake the weary British troops; and had night come on, without the object gained, annihilation would have been certain. But forward they rushed in the face of death—through a miracle the Residency was gained, and the evening of the 25th September saw Lucknow relieved! But the gallant Neill, who had reached the entrenchments, was no more! In the heat of the conflict, actuated by a noble vengence, he had rushed forward to rescue some guns, and was struck on the head by a bullet from one of the innumerable loop-holes; and so, like Brunswick's Duke at Waterloo, "foremost fighting fell!"

He fell, it is said, while passing through a gateway at the head of his own loved Regiment (there was also H.M.'s 78th Highlanders, whose brave men knew well the worth of Neill), and had paused only to assist from his flask a poor soldier who was wounded by his side—which pause, it may be remarked, cost him his life!"*

And thus his career ended with a glorious act of charity, which has caused his end to be eloquently compared to that of Sir Philip Sidney on the field of Zutphen. †

In the land of his birth—the land of Wallace and Burns, where there are some now alive who remember the bright-eyed reckless schoolboy—there is a tombstone to the martyrs of

* Lieutenant Crump was killed while in the actual performance of extricating a gun from a position exposed to the heavy musketry fire of the enemy.

† "'Give it to that poor man, his necessity is greater than mine.' And when after we are gone, our children's children shall be taught the last words of the gentle warrior poet at Zutphen, shall they not also read with glowing hearts and moistened eyes of the last deed of the undaunted Neill dying at Lucknow?"—Speech of Mr. Ritchie, in Calcutta, February 4, 1858.

the Covenant, with the inscription commencing, "*Hold! passenger.*" thus arresting the attention of the inquiring traveller. Beside Neill's grave might be raised a stone with the words inscribed on the monument of a French General, so much admired by a melancholy poet (Kirke White) —*Siste viator, heroam calcas!*"*

It is difficult to recollect a more striking or brilliant close to a military career than that which has been now so briefly and imperfectly recorded. There hardly seems to be a single flaw in the picture. The energy of the man, his heroic devotion to the State; the resolute execution of his plans in the face of every difficulty, which is always considered a grand test of strength of character; his magnanimity in supporting Havelock to the utmost of his power; his nerve, firm and unquailing like that of a Napier; his consummate tact and talent for resource under circumstances the like of which the world never saw before; the kindness he ever evinced for his men; his noble death,—all afford a splendid example of one who had adopted the science of war as his profession, and, by striving to become a master in it, did full honour to that science.

Not the least pleasing remembrance, while thus remarking on the character of Neill, is the manner in which he has been treated by public meetings and the public press. There is, generally speaking, no sickening adulation—little distortion of facts—the truth comes boldly forward—the man is understood, and justice is done. It has been so likewise, with regard to Havelock and Nicholson; and, perhaps more than with any of these, in the case of Sir Henry Lawrence, who, approaching if not equalling the military qualities possessed by the others, has the honour of having devoted a large portion of his fortune and time to the organisation and foundation of the noble military asylums which bear his name. High dignitaries of the Church, Members of Parliament, men of nearly every shade of opinion, have joined to do honour to the memory of the fallen heroes of this sad Rebellion. But, why call it sad? True enough, it is sad to the bereaved; but to the world,

* Stop, traveller—thou treadest on a hero!

and to humanity, the darkness, even now passing away, is only the forerunner of a lasting, marvellous light!

It must have been strange to hear a Member of the British Senate talking of Neill, Nicholson, and Havelock as, "not only three of the greatest soldiers, but three of the wisest statesmen that were ever entrusted with authority in India or any other part of the world." We are pretty sure, had they been alive, they would have disowned the latter portion of the compliment and transferred it to Sir Henry Lawrence. Clever administrative ability, which really good soldiers sometimes possess, and wise statesmanship, are two very different things; in the world of mind bearing about the same relation to each other as the Principia of Newton to the Elements of Arithmetic. But excess in panegyric in such cases is pardonable.

Each of the illustrious four died the death of a soldier; and, in the mighty enterprise in which they were engaged, it was such a composition of glorious natures which put life into the business of putting down the rebellion.*

In the case of Lawrence it is consoling to know that the brother, who has rendered such eminent services to the State, is yet alive to put us in mind of him.†

The best thing that has been said of our hero by the British Press is that, "from Benares to Cawnpore, the march of Neill was as the track of England's avenging angel!"‡

It would be useless to attempt a comparison between Neill and other Generals. He reminds us more of Clive than of any other, the "merchant's clerk" who suddenly "raised himself to celebrity," and who, as "the heaven-born General," retrieved the fallen fortunes of our late most noble and most munificent masters, the East India Company. Neill never had the opportunity of devising or conducting war on a grand scale. To this the nearest approach is his share in the organisation of the glorious advance upon Cawnpore and Lucknow.

The historian of the Peninsular War condemns the inju-

* *See* Bacon's Essay on "Vain Glory."

† *See* inscription on monument to Lord Lawrence, Appendix III.

‡ *Westminster Review.*

dubious juxtaposition made by some, in military talents, of Crawfurd and Picton beside their master, the illustrious Wellington.

Great opportunities and great power have, it is true, a wonderful deal to do with bringing out the lasting effect of a really good General's picture. Had Neill lived, and these requisites been eventually his fortune, it may be reasonably supposed he would have risen to be considered as occupying a place in the first rank of our Generals; and his name now certainly stands very high among the best and bravest Commanders who ever led on British troops to victory. The mention of Picton and Crawfurd, forces a comparison between Havelock and Neill, with regard to the assistance rendered by one to the other while on service.

During the fight on the Coas, Crawfurd asked Picton for the support of his division, which was angrily refused, while, as the eloquent historian asserts, it should have been "eagerly proffered."* Neill sent every available soldier to assist Havelock. Take him for all in all, he surely did enough worthy of imitation. And when, in an after age, the account of this Rebellion† shall be read in the work of some future Orme or Malcolm, as one of the blots on the page of history, the star of Neill's glory will ever give a lustre to the page; and then, as now, young military readers will not cease to admire his chivalrous courage, his power of enduring fatigue, his untiring energy, and his noble end. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is the appearance of such qualities in military commanders, during great emergencies, that will do much to usher in the blessings of peace—when the power of Christianity and the advantages of education shall be acknowledged by Hindu and Mussulman alike—when no arsenals shall resound with the busy clang of machinery in working out scientific inventions for

* "History of the Peninsular War," Book XI., chap. iv., p. 415.

† This has been written by Sir John William Kaye. The title is "The Sepoy War in India," in three volumes. That distinguished Anglo-Indian author, Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., completed "The History of the Indian Mutiny" in three volumes, commencing at the close of the second volume of Sir John Kaye's "History."

the destruction of our foes—when the world-renowned British bayonet shall cease to be required in the charge to extirpate tyranny and support the cause of freedom—when the thunder of our batteries of Artillery, and the crack of the long-range rifle shall no longer be heard in the land—when the trumpet shall hang in the hall, and men shall "study war no more!"

NEILL IN BURMA.

—o—

LETTER FROM THE LATE GENERAL NEILL, WHILE SERVING IN BURMA, TO THE AUTHOR.

"My dear——,

"I am quite ashamed to send you such a scrawl, and so stupidly put together; but I was so interrupted I had not time to set my mind to the work. If it, such as it is, will be of any use to you, I shall be very glad. You will do well to compose something more worthy of your book, of your own, from the information I give, which I believe to be correct; and the opinions I have given are my real sentiments: they need not be yours. I wish you every success, and only regret the assistance, if any, I have given is so paltry.

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. G. S. Neill.

"TOUNGHOO, *5th March*, 1853."

REMARKS.*

The operations on the 17th and 18th (December, 1852) showed that had Colonel Sturt's column been waited for, the army of the enemy would in all probability have been entirely destroyed. No country could have been more favourable for Cavalry, and the few patches of jungle their Infantry might have found refuge in, could have been cleared by our own. But between Kully and Montsanganoo there was a sufficient space of open ground for the destruction of the force. A blow might have been struck at Kully

* These, almost entirely by General Neill, are valuable.

on the 18th or 19th, which would have paralysed them with terror, and compelled them to submit to our power, and from the carriage the enemy's camp would have supplied, a rapid movement on Shoé-Ghyne would have obtained us possession of that town, and the almost certain annihilation of that boasting Burmese army. It is a humane wish to be lenient with the actions of men. We must narrate, however, that this grand opportunity was lost by not waiting for a more efficient column, which marched from and back to Rangoon without once coming into action. The exposure and fatigue the troops underwent on the 17th and 18th, caused much sickness from cholera; the Bengal Fusiliers in a few days lost upwards of twenty men. The Natives also suffered considerably. General Godwin, as is ever the case, showed the greatest coolness under fire, and an entire disregard of self: and nothing could have been better than the relief of Pegu, and the plans of attack on the 17th and 18th. These were admirably conducted until it came to the moment for acting, when it appeared as if the veteran chief lacked decision, and seemed to be unconscious of the enemy passing away before him. Whatever may have been General Godwin's motives for not attacking his enemy with vigour on the 17th and 18th—and he had shown himself quite capable of vigorous and successful attacks even during the second Burmese war—whatever may have been his motives for not waiting for Colonel Sturt's column, or leaving General Steel to follow up the enemy when the Horse Artillery and Cavalry arrived—he relieved Pegu and turned the enemy's position on the 17th with little or no loss to his own troops.

The three days' work on the 14th, 17th, and 18th of December tried the stoutest and hardiest of the force. Some old campaigners declared the "Punjab" was a joke to it as far as fatigue went. None displayed greater endurance than General Godwin himself and several of the oldest officers who accompanied him.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. F. BEATSON.*

—o—

"At the grand ball at the Hôtel de Ville on Saturday last, the lion of the evening was Brigadier Beatson in the uniform of the Nizam's Cavalry. The French ladies declared they had never seen anything so splendid. 'Quel bel uniforme, mais quel bel homme aussi,' was whispered everywhere. 'Qui est-il?' 'Je crois qu'il est le Sultan ou le Grand Mogul.' In fact, they were quite puzzled who he could be—'perhaps a new candidate for the Presidency of the Republic!' If it had depended on the ladies at the Hôtel de Ville he certainly would have been elected!"—

"Bravo! Brigadier Beatson outshining Louis Napoleon in his own capital! Think of that, officers of the Nizam's army, and plume yourselves."†

A letter from Paris, dated 5th January, 1852, contained the above item of interest, which, among those who knew the Brigadier well, probably excited but little surprise either in Bombay or the Nizam's dominions, where, on account of a local revolution in dress—which Brummell might have envied, but which had brought dismay to those officers not overburdened with rupees—it had really seemed as if the apparel proclaimed the man.‡ And yet the subject of our sketch was no fop, but one of the most able, zealous, and hard-working soldiers who ever entered the Indian army. Throughout life, honourable distinction was his steady aim. Wherever he went he seemed marked out to be "the observed of all observers;" yet, strange to say, after long and faithful service, he died without a single mark of distinction from his country to add to his name. That he was indeed a

* Written in January, 1875. † See *Bombay Times*, February 7, 1852.

‡ "For the apparel oft proclaims the man."—SHAKSPEARE.

distinguished Anglo-Indian will be seen from the following record of military services. But first it may interest those who were his friends to learn that he was born at Rossend Castle, Fifeshire, N.B., about the year 1805. General Alexander Beatson, Governor of St. Helena,* was his uncle—the distinguished Madras officer who had planned the attack of Seringapatam, and wrote the history of the war in Mysore. Sir Charles Oakeley (Governor of Madras) married Miss Beatson, General Alexander Beatson's only sister. The father of our hero was Captain Robert Beatson (Beatson of Kilrie), of the Royal Engineers, who had three sons appointed to the Bengal Native Infantry. William Ferguson entered the Bengal Army in 1820. Being on furlough, he (with the sanction of the British Government) served with the British Legion in Spain in 1835–1836, first as Major, afterwards as Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 10th, or Munster Light Infantry, at the head of which regiment, he was severely wounded. For his services in Spain he received the Cross of San Fernando from Queen Isabella, and Her Britannic Majesty's permission to wear it in September, 1837. Beatson was not the only Indian officer who, under Sir de Lacey Evans, won distinction in Spain, but he was certainly one of the foremost in what was considered a good cause. Nearly forty years† have not entirely changed the drama in that unfortunate country—so difficult to govern—for we have just seen Don Carlos again fighting for the crown, yet, in spite of his energy and pluck, defeated and discomfited; while Queen Isabella is in Paris, and her son, with the romantic name of Alphonso, ascending her throne! It may truly be said, that if Hindu sovereignties fall to pieces, so do European.

Beatson returned to India in 1837, and having been appointed to the important command of the Bundelkund Legion, received the thanks of Government for the capture of Jignee, in Bundelkund, in 1840; and of Chirgong, in 1841.

* Whose relative, General Edward Swift Broughton, an excellent and distinguished officer of the Bengal army, was Deputy-Governor early in the present century.

† Written in 1874.

In February, 1844, he received the thanks of the Governor-General's agent, in Scindiah's dominions, for recovering for the Gwalior Government forts and strongholds in Kuchwahagar.

In March, 1844, he played one of his best cards by volunteering with his Bundelkund Legion for Sind. For this he received the thanks of Government; which volunteering, the Governor-General declared, placed the Government o India under great obligation.

In March, 1845, he was mentioned in Sir Charles Napier's despatch, regarding the campaign in the Boogtee Hills; which service called forth the approbation of Government.

In July, 1846, the conduct of his Legion while in Sind, was, much to the satisfaction of the Commandant, praised in General Orders by the Governor-General, Viscount Hardinge.*

Having been appointed to the command of the Nizam's Cavalry, we find Brigadier Beatson, in July, 1848, receiving approbation from the Government of India for taking the Jagheer and fort of Rymou from that troublesome, ever war-like, and energetic race, the Rohillas; and in November, 1850, he recaptured Rymou from the Arabs.

In February, 1851, he captured the fort of Dharoor, one of the strongest in the Dekhan.

In March, 1851, the Resident at Hyderabad paid Beatson a high compliment, by issuing the following General Order:—

"Brigadier Beatson having tendered his resignation of the command of the Nizam's Cavalry, from date of his embarkation for England, the Resident begs to express his entire approval of this officer's conduct during the time he has exercised the important command of the Cavalry Division.

"Brigadier Beatson has not only maintained, but improved, the interior economy and arrangement of the Cavalry Division; and the value of his active military services in the field has been amply attested and rendered subject of

* Lord Dalhousie arrived in India on the 12th of January, 1848, and on the 18th Lord Hardinge left Calcutta on his way home.

record, in the several instances of Kangoan, Rymon, Arnee, and Dharoor."

The Brigadier appears to have tendered his resignation rather hastily, for we find him, shortly after, asking Lord Dalhousie's permission to withdraw his application; but his Lordship, with characteristic decision, did not approve of the "wavering spirit" of even so distinguished an officer. So Beatson proceeded to England.

We next find him in Turkey, on special service (1st May, 1854), with rank as Colonel on the staff in the British Army. He received the rank of Lieutenant-General in the Turkish Army on his arrival at Constantinople. For his services on the Danube he obtained the gold medal from the Sultan, the "Nishan-i-Iftihar." In 1854 he was with the Heavy Brigade at Balaklava and Inkerman, and was mentioned in General Scarlett's despatch regarding the famous charge which has made Balaklava immortal. "During the time he was with me" (writes General Sir J. Scarlett, when recommending him to Head-Quarters, in October, 1856) "as Lieutenant-Colonel Beatson, he proved himself a most active and useful officer, as willing to work as the youngest Aide-de-Camp, with the experience of active service before the enemy. He was with me under fire the early part of the 25th of October, 1854, near the Turkish forts. He was by my side at the charge of the Heavy Brigade—and rode by my side down the valley in support of the Light Brigade—under as severe a fire as troops were ever exposed to, and had his horse struck by a spent shot in the side. During the whole of this day he behaved with the greatest gallantry and coolness, and entirely supplied the place of my Aide-de-Camp (Captain Elliott), after the charge of the Heavy Brigade, in which Captain Elliott was severely wounded." He received the British and Turkish silver medals for the Crimea, the former with three clasps.

On the 1st of November, 1854, Beatson was given the local rank of Major-General in Her Majesty's Army in Turkey; and he organised 4,000 Bashi-Bazouks. This corps was composed of confessedly the most difficult troops

in the world for European officers to deal with; but for which the commandant's "long experience among the Arabs and Mohillas of the Nizam's Cavalry peculiarly fitted him."

It was "during the transfer of the command from Colonel Beatson to Colonel Smith" that the events were said to have occurred which were set forth in the well-known trial in the case of Beatson *v.* Skene. The consul at Aleppo (Mr. Skene), who was with the commandant of the Bashi-Bazouks at the Dardanelles, was reported to have brought against him the extraordinary charge of attempting "to incite to mutiny the troops he had been appointed to command, so as to prevent others succeeding him therein." The value of such a charge was at once apparent when he was specially employed to aid in suppressing the great Mutiny in India, after being charged with attempting to create one in Turkey.*

Resting assured that he would be able to clear his fair fame, he returned to India on the breaking out of the Mutiny in 1857, when he was immediately employed in the highly-responsible duty of raising and organizing two regiments of cavalry, which, under the name of "Beatson's Horse," he took into the field. For services with one of the regiments of this brigade, the 18th Royal Irish, and Bombay Artillery, he received the thanks of Sir Hugh Rose in February, 1859. Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn) had made known to the Bombay Commander-in-Chief the satisfaction he derived from the manner in which Colonel Beatson discharged his duties while under his command, and praised him for his zeal and energy in carrying out his instructions. Sir Hugh was perfectly aware of his "readiness to encounter any hardship or fatigue for the good of the service." He returned to England towards the close of 1859.

* On the grounds of the communication being "privileged," the verdict of the Jury was "for the defendant." "The Jury wish to express their strong opinion of regret that, on discovering how unfounded the reports were, the defendant had not thought proper to withdraw his statements." The trial took place on Beatson's return from India, after the Mutiny, and it cost him £3,000. The case was fully noticed in the London and provincial journals of January, 1860.—Mr. Skene died in Geneva, October 3, 1886.

We have before us a "Supplement" of Beatson's services under four successive Governors-General, Lords Auckland, Ellenborough, Hardinge, and Dalhousie. Lord Canning made the fifth; and, though engaged under the lamented Viceroy in a peaceful but brilliant service, Lord Mayo, the sixth. Under Lord Canning's successor, Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, whose reign appears to have been one of consolidating the Empire after the Mutiny, Beatson's name does not come much before the public. Shortly after his return to India, or about the years 1864–65, there was almost nothing for him to do; so he could only wait patiently for what he was generally confessed to have very strong claims—the command of a division. This he at length obtained from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Mansfield (now Lord Sandhurst); but he and his friends felt that the high and lucrative appointment, worth over £4,000 a year, came rather too late in life.* Still the old soldier was very thankful for the great honour paid him, through which the wonted energy might again burst forth; and he had hope of retrieving his pecuniary losses.

In Allahabad Division "up in the morning early" (as was ever his custom), and action everywhere among the troops, soon became the order of the day. A sham fight was taking place at Allahabad, while the troops in some other cantonments were only just arriving on the ground. Lord Chatham's famous maxim, "If you do not rise early you can make progress in nothing" (advice doubly valuable in India, where the sun, if you would be cool, compels you to rise early), was never absent from Beatson's mind; and we cannot help thinking it not improbable that, had he been in command at Meerut during the 10th and 11th of May, 1857, at the first outbreak of the Mutiny, he would have headed a party of horse, galloped off, and not left the saddle till he had done his utmost to secure the mutineers on their way to Delhi, and bring them back, under a strong guard, to their proper station.

* Beatson was a full Colonel in the Army, November, 1854; a Regimental Colonel in May, 1861; Major-General, 8th January, 1865; and was appointed to command the Allahabad Division, 3rd October, 1866.

Early in 1869, we find him in command of the Sirhind (Umballa) Division, where the grand Durbar, in honour of Shere Ali, the Ameer of Afghanistan, was held under Lord Mayo with unusual splendour.

Beatson was now in his glory, and put forth all his energies to deserve the thanks which he so generously received for his admirable arrangements regarding the troops; and our friend, the Ameer, doubtless, went back to his own country, having formed a very high opinion of our army, under the Chief, Sir William Mansfield, and his soldier-like Lieutenant, General Beatson. This was the brilliant service before alluded to; and Lord Mayo's Durbar, we may hope, Shere Ali considered, in every sense, a victory of peace. If such friendships last, the designs of Russia (if such there be), or any other great power, against our splendid dominion, will vanish like mist before the morning sun.

Our distinguished Anglo-Indian's career is now drawing to a close. The "last of earth" is not far distant. Originally of a strong constitution, his health, from over-work and anxiety, now gave visible signs of being somewhat shattered; and, while commanding at Allahabad, he lost his wife, on which occasion he sent a letter to the present writer detailing the sympathy shown in his bereavement by all the officers at the funeral. More than a year of his divisional command still remained to be served; but he determined to visit England early in 1870, leaving the year in reserve for his return. Shortly after reaching home he lost a favourite daughter, which affliction he bore with truly Christian resignation; and before his health was fairly established—although much improved—he, soon after the sad event, left for India to accomplish the "one year more," which has killed, and will yet kill, so many Anglo-Indians! His condition in the loved land of his best achievements gradually became precarious, and he was recommended to Malta for change of climate. Thence, at the end of January, 1872, he returned to England to join his only surviving daughter, Mrs. M'Mullen, who had recently lost her husband, Major M'Mullen, "while on active service in India." On arrival he was so weak that he had to be carried from the ship.

Early in February, the London journals contained the following announcement:—"GENERAL BEATSON.—This distinguished officer died on Sunday, the 4th, at the Vicarage, New Swindon, the residence of the Rev. G. Campbell, aged sixty-seven."* Gazing on him in his last sleep, he reminded you of an effigy in a cathedral of one of the knights of old, with a visage conscious of having, during an eventful life, done much hard and chivalrous work. Or he might have given some the idea of a dead warrior on the hard-won field, with, as Aytoun describes the "dead Dundee," a slight smile on his visage, as if, in the splendid lines of Campbell—conscious of leaving "no blot on his name," he dared to

"Look proudly to Heaven from the death-bed of fame."†

There can be no doubt that the subject of this sketch had numerous very fine qualities; but disappointed ambition seemed occasionally to freeze "the genial current" of his soul, and in a few of his deeds there was a slight want of discipline of the mind. After all, how many well-known or distinguished men, in and out of the Services, are deserving of the same remark, and have shown, more or less, qualities which stood in the way of Beatson's advancement and distinction. One good anecdote of him may be told, showing his impetuosity, with a tinge of humour, even at the quiet *chota haziree* (small breakfast) after parade. It was in Central India, when the fame of "Beatson's Horse" was beginning to attract attention, that, as the commandant and his officers were seated round the small table, preparatory to the larger and later repast, Beatson suddenly drew his sword, and made a smart cut at the helmet of one of the officers, who naturally looked up from his tea, inquiring the reason for such an assault. "I only wanted to find out whether or not your helmet is sword-proof," coolly replied Beatson. That he was a favourite among many of his officers is undeniable; and the following extracts will show how he was appreciated in the Bundelkund Legion, and the Nizam's Cavalry. Take him in what light we will, Beatson will long be remembered as one of the bravest and best soldiers of the old India Army.

* Then followed a record of his services. † "Lochiel's Warning."

PAPERS RELATING TO GENERAL BEATSON'S INDIAN CAREER.

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No. 1.

Extract of a letter to Government from GENERAL FRASER, *Resident at Hyderabad, dated 6th of March*, 1848.

"I have always been anxious to diminish, as far as possible, the debts of the Cavalry Division, and it is a source of gratification to me to find that the Brigadier has taken such steps as may tend to effect this desirable object.

"I am happy that I am enabled to speak in terms of high approval of Brigadier Beatson. He was not appointed at my recommendation, and there was another officer who I thought had superior claims to the Cavalry Division, from having served in it for many years with credit and reputation; but there is no man with whom I could be better satisfied than with Brigadier Beatson, nor any one, in my opinion, who would be better suited to command the Cavalry branch of the Nizam's Service."

General Fraser was a distinguished Anglo-Indian, a capital Persian scholar, and well-read on nearly every subject. He held several important political appointments during his long career. The writer recollects him at Hyderabad in 1846, remarking, as we entered with our swords on (according to custom) before breakfast, "Take off your swords, gentlemen; this is a time of peace!"

No. 2.

Extract of a letter from COL. WOOD, *Military Secretary to* LORD HARDINGE, *dated 18th October*, 1848.

"It now appears that Col. Tomkyns has applied for an extension of leave, only to the 29th of February next, and that on his reassuming his command, Major Beatson, who is officiating for him will be deprived of his appointment.

"The G. G. considers the claims of this officer on the Government are very strong, having, whilst in command of the Bundelkund Legion, consisting of Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery, done good service to the State, at a most important crisis, when our troops refused to march to Scinde,

which his troops volunteered to do, the command of which he has been deprived by the men of the Legion having been drafted into the Regular Regiments of the Bengal Army.

"Under these circumstances the G. G., although he acknowledges that Major Inglis, having commanded a regiment of the Nizam's Cavalry for seventeen years, would be a very proper officer to command the Cavalry Division, does not feel justified in passing over Major Beatson in favour of that officer."

No. 3.

The following is the inscription on a sword presented after the Bundelkund Legion was broken up :—

To Major W. F. Beatson, *late Commandant-in-Chief of the Bundelkund Legion.*

From his friends of the Legion, in token of their admiration of him as a Soldier, and their esteem for him as an Individual—1850.

No. 4.

The following accompanied the presentation of a handsome piece of Plate, from the Officers of the Nizam's Cavalry, after Brigadier Beatson *gave up command :—*

"We have availed ourselves of this method of testifying our regard for you personally, and our admiration of your talents and abilities as a Soldier under whose command we have all served, and some of us have had opportunities of witnessing your gallant conduct in action with the enemy, and your sound judgment upon all occasions, when Brigadier in command of the Nizam's Cavalry, both in Quarters and in the Field."

No. 5.

Extract of a Despatch from the Commander-in-Chief *to the* Governor-General, *dated Head Quarters, Simla, 19th October*, 1853.

Recommending "The introduction, under an Inspector, or other properly qualified Officer, of a well-considered and uniform system in the Cavalry, so as to ensure effectually, for the future, the most perfect efficiency attainable."

"In the event of these suggestions meeting with the approval of the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council, I am to observe that Major W. F. Beatson, late Brigadier in the Army of his Highness the Nizam, whose return from furlough is shortly expected, appears to His Excellency, from his long experience, a fit officer to investigate into the state of the Irregular Cavalry, and to prepare such rules and regulations as may conduce to its perfect organization."

COLONEL W. H. SYKES, M.P., F.R.S.*

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The death of Colonel Sykes, M.P., at the ripe age of eighty-two, has removed from us a man of no ordinary mental calibre, and whose like we may not soon see again. He was emphatically, as a contemporary writer has styled him, "the M.P. for Hindustan." India was the darling of his heart through two generations of men, and when he could not get India to talk about, he was off to China to discourse about the Taepings, or some other political subject of the Flowery Land. India, past and present, was alike known to the gallant and philanthropic Colonel; and from his extensive reading and vast experience he had the power of doing much good; but he knew not the secret of being concise, or of seizing on various occasions the main points of an argument; which injured his value in the eyes of the world. Great in statistics, great in a knowledge of the origin and progress of Eastern commerce, great in a knowledge of ancient India —his "Notes" concerning which form one of the most interesting works on the mysteries of Buddhism in the world —great in his devotion to the officers of the Indian army, and always kind and considerate to officers and others requiring his assistance and advice, the departed Colonel was in many respects a remarkable man. As Director and Chairman of the East India Company, a large amount of patronage was in his gift, and for nearly forty years we fully believe that he never lost an opportunity for exercising his power of doing good. The subaltern of the fine old Indian army, wanting his book patronised by the Court, was sure to go to Sykes. If it could be done—*he* was the man. The

* Written in June, 1872.

widow and the orphan, too, how often have they had to bless his name! Some who read this will remember the Colonel's famous remark—"I never ask favours from the Government"—which has damped the spirit of many an aspirant to fame. That tall figure with the benign countenance has now passed away; but none who have heard his speeches, read his works, or had an interview with him, will easily forget such a friend as William Henry Sykes.

The Liberal Member of Parliament for Aberdeen died in London on the 16th June, 1872. He was the son of Mr. Samuel Sykes, a representative of a branch of the Sykeses of Yorkshire, and was born in the year 1790. He joined the Bombay army in 1804, and in 1805 served under Lord Lake at Bhurtpore. At the battles of Kirkee and Poonah he commanded a regiment of native troops.

He was actively employed in the Deccan in 1817 and 1818; and in 1824 he was engaged by the Bombay Government as statistical Reporter—a position which he held till he finally quitted India in 1831. In 1840 he was elected a Director of the East India Company. He gave his services to the public gratuitously as a Royal Commissioner in Lunacy. In March, 1854, he was elected Lord Rector of Aberdeen University; and, to crown the zeal he displayed for India, he was subsequently chosen Deputy-Chairman of the East India Company, and served as Chairman of that great Corporation in the eventful years of 1857-58. He had represented Aberdeen since 1857, at every general election the gallant and learned Colonel having the preference. He belonged to many learned societies at home and abroad, and had held the presidential chairs of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Statistical Society, and of the Society of Arts. In 1856 he received from the citizens of Bombay a medal for his strong advocacy of a system of native education; and only a year or two before his death he was presented with a handsome silver candelabrum, subscribed for and presented by the officers of the Indian army "in grateful appreciation of his persevering and disinterested advocacy in the House of Commons of the rights and privileges" of that body. Turning from the learned "Notes on the Religious, Moral,

and Political State of Ancient India"—which alone occupy some 250 pages, or nearly the entire volume, of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for May, 1841—we find among his scientific and literary works one on the "Organization and Cost of the English and French Armies and Navies," and upwards of sixty papers published in the Transactions of various learned societies, "mainly on the ancient history, antiquities, statistics, geology, natural history, and meteorology of India."

The general complaint, remarked on by Seneca, of the shortness of life, and his answer—*Vita, si scias uti, longa est*—"Life is long, if you know how to use it"—were known to few men better than Colonel Sykes. Not long before his death, the writer had occasion to pay him a visit in Albion Street, Hyde Park. The conversation turning on work for the Anglo-Indian at home, on its being remarked to him what a vast deal of work *he* had got through since he left India (more than forty years ago), he replied—"But there is little use in living now; the *vis vitæ* has gone!"

Some twenty years before, the conversation with him, when he served as a Director in Leadenhall Street, had been on Buddhism and Monsieur Manupied's wonderful work, bringing out a comparison between some of the Buddhistical writings and those in Isaiah; now it was on the great question of the day—Education!

Perhaps no Anglo-Indian ever moved in a higher circle of society than Colonel Sykes. He was the friend of several distinguished men, among others, Lord Rosse, the inventor of the mighty telescope, with whom the writer found him busy on one occasion; and, during the first conversation above alluded to, he remarked on being obliged, from ill-health, to decline all invitations, even from those related to the Royal Family. This is mentioned to show that, in spite of a few short-comings as a public man, there was some attractive metal about him, even in a social point of view. Early in June, on leaving the House of Commons, we believe that he said to a brother Member with whom he had been associated for years, while supporting him on leaving the House, "I'm going home—I don't think I shall ever re-

turn!" The remark was too true: he went home but to die. Sykes comes under the head of useful and hard-working rather than of brilliant Anglo-Indians. Those who knew him well declared that he thought he knew everything better than anybody else; and surely, when we consider that he was a soldier a year before Nelson won the battle of Trafalgar, and then an ardent student, such pride of knowledge may be excused. A duplicate of the man can never possibly appear: he belongs to a school fast passing away; but younger men will do well if they evince the same amount of energy and industry in the public service which so long distinguished Colonel Sykes.

In 1886, it is pleasing to find that the name of Colonel Sykes is by no means forgotten. Dr. Murdoch, evidently a well-read Anglo-Indian, in a strange work on "India's Needs," remarks that the struggle for existence is not confined to India. Colonel Sykes, for many years resident in that country, says:—"Poverty and wretchedness exist in all countries; but this much I can say, that in similar limited areas I never witnessed in India such an amount of squalid misery as it has been my misfortune to witness in my personal inquiries in London and elsewhere into the condition of the labouring classes." The recent "Bitter Cry of Outcast London" shows that "the misery still exists." The question at once arises, How could the gallant and philanthropic Colonel, amidst so many engagements, find time for such important inquiries? Perhaps the answer is to be found in a remark once made by the most popular of English novelists, that he owed very much of his success in life to doing one thing at a time.

THE GENIUS OF ANCIENT BUDDHISM.

Under the above head, the conclusion of Colonel Sykes' famous paper, "Notes on Ancient India," may be given as an example of his style. When we consider that the religion of Buddha numbers some 400,000,000 members, the subject should be one of no common interest.

With a few words on the genius of *ancient* Buddhism, and the possible cause of its fall in India, I shall close these

notes. The Buddhists, like many other Eastern nations, believed in the transmigration of the soul. To terminate the probationary state, and to obtain final liberation or rest, *nirvana* or *nirbutti*, that is to say, the stoppage of the further transition of the soul, was the sole worthy object of man's existence! The only path to this object was through the grades of the clergy. The conditions were, the "*most perfect faith, the most perfect virtue, and the most perfect knowledge.*" It was insufficient for the laity that they believed in *Buddha*, Dharma, *Sanga*, *i.e.* Buddha, the law, and the clergy or church; of which there is elsewhere an analogue in "God, the law, and the prophets:" it was only by receiving the tonsure, and enlisting in the ranks of the church that they even made the first step towards salvation. It was then, that, abandoning the world and its concerns, pledged to absolute poverty, to support life by eleemosynary means, to chastity, to abstinence, to penance, to prayer, and, above all, to continued contemplation of divine truths, they rose in the grades of the church, until some one amongst them having obtained the most perfect knowledge, the most perfect virtue, and the most perfect faith, became Buddha, or infinite wisdom; that is to say, the soul ceased to wander;—its final rest was attained, and it was absorbed into the First Cause. It has been attempted to brand this doctrine with atheism; but if it be so, then are the Brahmans atheists, for it is part of their esoteric system.* Those of the Buddhist clergy who could not attain nirvana, in their renewed births were supposed to attain a form amongst the grades of beings either celestial or terrestrial, approaching to perfect happiness in the *proximate ratio* of their attainment of *perfect knowledge*, and in these states they might rise or fall, until *final liberation* was attained. The souls of the laity went on transmigrating through animal or vegetable life, without even passing the threshold to salvation. It was a strong motive with every man, therefore, to join the clergy, and even the painful lives the latter led, did not prevent the proper relation between producers and non-producers in the social system being subverted. The accumulation of the clergy was pregnant with evil. Their standard of excellence was infinitely too high for humanity; their tests for its attainment too severe; schisms occurred, disorders broke out, relaxations in discipline followed, and these circumstances, in the progress of ages, combined with the severe pressure upon the laity for the support of the enormously disproportioned numbers

* Wilson, Second Oxford Lecture, p. 64.

of the clergy [*vide* Mahawanso], loosened their hold upon the veneration and affection of the people: they silently fell off from a system which was so onerous, and merged into the Vaisya or Sudra ranks of the Brahmanical faith, precisely as is described by Hiuan thsang to have been the case at Patna in the seventh century, when "the Buddhists were living amongst the heretics, and no better than them." In this corrupted stage of Buddhism, the fiery Saivas mustered in sufficient force to effect its overthrow; the clergy, and such of the laity as espoused their interests, were either slaughtered, or driven out of India to a man, and the rest of the laity had little difficulty in transferring their allegiance from one idol to another (for from works of Buddhist art, and from what we now see of its practices in other countries, it must then have lapsed into little better than rank idolatry), and Buddhism thus finally disappeared from India, leaving, however, indestructible vestiges of its former glory, and many of its practices amongst the Hindus, as noticed by Dr. Stevenson; the Saivas leaving also, as I elsewhere have had occasion to notice, monuments of their triumphs! *

In case I am asked for the specific object and *cui bono* of my labours, my reply is brief and simple. The startling accounts of India by the Chinese travellers in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries of our era, prompted me to subject details so novel and unexpected to the test of such contemporary or previous evidence, as might be obtainable. The Chinese travellers have come from the ordeal unscathed, and the accumulated facts of the preceding pages satisfy me that the narratives of what they saw, in their chief features are as worthy of credit as those of the travellers of any other time or nation whatever, at least those of a Fahian. With respect to the *cui bono*, if it be proved that Brahmanism is neither unfathomable in its antiquity, nor unchangeable in its character, we may safely infer that by proper means, applied in a cautious, kindly, and forbearing spirit, such *further changes* may be effected, as will raise the intellectual standard of the Hindus, improve their moral and social condition, and assist to promote their eternal welfare.

* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. iv., p. 205.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. H. MILLER, C.B.*

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William Henry Miller appears in the "Madras Quarterly Army List," in June, 1860, as Regimental Lieutenant-Colonel, a Colonel in the Army, and Aide-de-Camp to the Queen; his season of appointment to the Madras Artillery dating as far back as 1823. The same interesting work—more interesting to many than either romance or history—records that Colonel Miller served with the force of Colonel Evans, C.B., employed against the insurgents in the Nuggur Province of Mysore, in April, May, and June, 1831; with the Saugor Field Division in the Bundelkund campaign, of 1858, in command of the Artillery Brigade; present at the actions of Jheenjun, April 10th, and of Kubraee, April 17th, 1858; the Battle of Banda, 19th April, 1858. Received three wounds, one on the hand, one on the face, and lost his right arm.

From the fourth of the seven ages of man (according to Shakspeare), we make a retrograde movement to "the infant," and find that, as the son of Major Miller, Royal Horse Guards (Blues), William first saw the light in May, 1805, at or near the town of Windsor. To his father, one of the best informed officers of the day, the son owed much of his education; and that love of argument in conversation, which so distinguished him in after life, was due to paternal tuition. The Millers seem to have caught some infection from the vastness of the Scotch intellect during the eighteenth century, of which we read in Buckle's remarkable book on "Civilisation." Of the two fundamental divisions of human inquiry—the deductive and the in-

* Written June, 1878, partly from a sketch printed at Ootacamund, Neilgherries, 1866.

ductive—during that renowned period of invention, all the great thinkers of Scotland chiefly cherished the deductive philosophy which, in comparison with the other, was deemed "remarkable for boldness, dexterity, and often rashness." From Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton, over his carronades and paddle-wheels, down to his grandson, the lieutenant fire-worker in the Coast Artillery, the spirit of investigation was apparent. Such a state of mind, preferring facts to theories, was not less valuable to the soldier Miller (especially in the scientific branch of the Army) than to the eventual vindication of his grandfather's right to be considered the sole originator of Practical Steam Navigation.

After some thirty-five years of uninterrupted Indian service, in the different capacities of surveyor, commissary of ordnance, and regimental officer—all blended with that love of *shikar*, which the Iron Duke rightly deemed a grand qualification in the British soldier—William Miller was appointed by Sir Patrick Grant, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, to the command of the Artillery Brigade of the Saugor Field Division, which division, under General Sir G. C. Whitlock, the great question of the Banda and Kirwee prize-money afterwards rendered even more famous in the eyes of the world than its glorious deeds in the field.

To one who was fond, and knew so much about, horses and cattle, this well-equipped division (including a more than usually effective siege-train) must have presented a cheerful picture—one that would have received ample justice from the genius of Landseer. All the animals were in splendid condition, and well adapted to aid the work of giving the *coup-de-grace* to the Sepoy rebellion. The Brigadier was a thoroughly practical man. Not a few of the stores for the large train were weighed out and packed under his personal inspection. While Commissary of Ordnance his plan was to keep various books, in which the materials for making up stores were carefully jotted down, as well as a vast quantity of practical information, invaluable to the Ordnance officer. "Give me facts, I am sick of theory; give me actual facts!" said James Watt to Boulton; and, doubtless, so thought, while about to set forth on his warlike mission, the grandson of

Patrick Miller of Dalswinton. Bundelkund was to be the grand theatre of action. It was in the height of the hot weather of 1858 that the Column encountered the Nawab of Banda. During the action which ensued, Brigadier Miller's gallantry, while in command of the Artillery, was conspicuous. Attempting to silence or carry away one of the enemy's field guns, which was playing hard upon the Division, he had his right arm shattered, and received a sword cut on his head, and other wounds. Through medical skill, and a strong constitution, a valuable life was spared; but the arm had, at Banda, to be eventually amputated near the shoulder.

"After the battle," wrote a most intelligent officer in the force, "the fearful weather under which we marched to Kirwee—when strong men dropped motionless, and too soon lifeless, day by day—will never be forgotten by those who shared it." The General was proud to the end of his days of the Artillery he commanded at Banda, on the 19th April, and of how they did their duty in the famed relief of Kirwee, 25th December, 1858, under the personal command of General (afterwards Sir George) Whitlock, on which occasion the Cavalry and Horse Artillery marched eighty-seven miles in thirty-seven hours. *Honor fidelitatis premium* was the motto chosen for an interesting pamphlet on the Division, recording the exploits of the Madras troops, who "from the hour when the gallant Neill led his little band of Fusiliers across the surf, down to the Battle of Banda and march to Kirwee, had proved themselves to be soldiers of whom Charles the Twelfth, or the Great Condé, would have been justly proud." Among the recipients of honours distributed after the war, was the Artillery Brigadier, who had fought so fearlessly and well; he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty, with the rank of a Brevet-Colonel, and eventually a C.B., on obtaining the honorary rank of Major-General. In 1866 General Miller was among the first recipients of the good service pension allotted by Her Majesty to distinguished or worthy Indian officers. He had retired from the service, and left India in 1860-61.

Shortly after his retirement General Miller set his power-

ful mind to work on the scientific subject of the origin of Practical Steam Navigation; and the result, after unwearied investigation, was a published letter (1862), "vindicating the right of Patrick Miller, Esq., of Dalswinton, to be regarded as the first inventor." For many years, in a foreign land, the grandson had been displeased to hear that others were pursuing the triumph which belonged to his illustrious relative, whose experiments in artillery and navigation, including those in the latter with steam, are well known to have cost Mr. Miller above £30,000. The "Letter," published in the form of a neat *brochure*, is addressed to Bennett Woodcroft, Esq., F.R.S., author of "A Sketch of the Origin and progress of Steam Navigation."

In his "Vindication" the General exhibited a forbearance, a generosity, and an impartiality, not common in a matter of scientific controversy, and did much to fix old Dalswinton in a conspicuous niche in the temple of fame. The question of Army prize, in connection with the well-known Banda and Kirwee case, occupied unceasingly the last seven or eight years of General Miller's life; and, as President of the Committee appointed with reference to the money and jewels taken in the campaign in which he had played so distinguished a part, the *hoc age*, or do it with all thy might principle of work, was ever apparent in one of the most unselfish of men. The worry and vexation which his generous labours frequently entailed, doubtless tended to hasten the General's end; and, after a brief illness, the fine old Anglo-Indian soldier died peacefully at his residence in Kildare Gardens, Bayswater, on the 15th May, 1873. His remains were interred in Kensal Green Cemetery, May 21, in the presence of numerous mourning and sincere friends and companions-in-arms.

In his manner General Miller was genial and attractive in an extraordinary degree. Tall and erect, with a rather powerful frame, *le général sans bras* (as the French used to style him), with his amiable visage set off by a venerable beard, seemed to make friends everywhere. In the omnibus or railway carriage he had always a little troop of patient listeners to his occasional droll remarks and brief anecdotes;

and in the former vehicle on one occasion he kept two old ladies chained to their seats, to their dismay, long after passing the appointed place of exit. He was generally at first averse to novelties of any kind. He preferred the old stagecoach to the railway carriage, and shot with the flint gun (and killed right well, too) long after percussion caps had come into use. The old soldier in London, now turned into a *commissionnaire*, who could display medals, and especially if he had lost an arm, was sure to meet with his sympathy or assistance. At home, the fund of anecdote he would pour out was sometimes surprising. He knew everything about Anglo-India in the old time, and would bring "old familiar faces" back before you in rapid succession. In Indian sporting matters he was a first-rate authority, and the well-known heroes of the turf of a past age in our "Nursery of Captains" were most of them known to him.* Himself a fearless rider, he would discourse on the merits of once renowned jockeys. He would tell you of the mighty hunters, whether with hound or spear, such as John Elliott and Backhouse, and of some of the chief turf men in Bengal—Stevenson, Bacon, Grant, and John White. He would bring before you the feats of Stevenson, the father of the turf in the Bengal Presidency, and the eccentricities of MacDowell ("Arab Mac") who claimed that honour in Madras. He had stories of Apthorp, Humffreys, and Shirriff—all renowned tiger-killers—and Duncan Mackenzie ("Mr. North"), Edward Gullifer Showers (Artillery), and the two Macleans, were cited as "among the glorious old 'Mulls,'" who in their day shed glory o'er the turf, as Cunningham (Cavalry) did in Bombay. He had even stories of the famous Arabs of the time, such as Pyramid, Feramorz, and Hurry Skurry—those "equine sons of the desert," as he styled them. He would then strike off to affairs at home, and talk of history, politics, and the drama. Of the latter he was especially fond, and he would tell you about the old actors—of whom he had seen many—dwelling on Liston's wonderful face, for instance—with a genial humour

* See "Sketch of Sporting Literature in India," in which the General is the "choice spirit of a world gone by," therein alluded to.

worthy of *Elia*. In politics the General was a strict Conservative: and, with a Tory journal in his hand he seemed to bid defiance to all the world, which frequently led him into severe wordy conflicts with his political opponents. Well-read, and possessing a most retentive memory, his weak point now came forth—impatience of contradiction. And yet with his opposing style of argument he was one of the kindest and most charitable of men. A genial laugh or smile soon succeeded the motion of the empty sleeve. Charity with him was not a mere name. With but limited means he was ever ready to do a good action, when in his power; and he did it with much delicacy and good feeling. To give the last touch, he was eminently just and liberal, and loved for his justice and magnanimity.

NOTES.

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I.

THE SAUGOR FIELD DIVISION.

The Saugor Field Division consisted of a wing of the 12th Royal Lancers, under Colonel Oakes; the 43rd Regiment, under Colonel Primrose; the 3rd Madras European Regiment, under Colonel Apthorp ("Tiger Apthorp," so called from being such a good shot); a troop of European M.H.A., under Major Mein; F Troop of Native H.A., under Major Brice; a Horse Battery, under Captain Gosling and Lieutenant Pope; the 50th M.N.I., under Colonel Reece, and the 1st M.N.I. under Colonel Gottreux. Captain Palmer's Company, R.A., with Lieutenant Morgan; and last, though far from least, the 2nd Ressalah of the Hyderabad Contingent, under Captain Macintire, completed Whitlock's Field Division, in which were some of the best officers in the Madras Army.

The staff consisted of Colonel Hamilton, Adjutant-General; Major Barrow, Commissary of Ordnance; Major Ludlow, Field or Chief Engineer; Head of the Commissariat, Captain Barrow; Major Lawder, Q.M.G.; and Dr. Davidson, Surgeon-in-Chief, with whom the writer had served in the second Burmese war. All the men were eager for

service—"the boys" in particular; for so the men of the recently raised Madras 3rd European Regiment had been styled by their former Colonel (General Whitlock),* who was now about to lead them on to victory!—*Bondela Khond*, the land of the Bondelas, was to be the grand theatre of action.

II.

COLONEL WALTER CONINGSBY ERSKINE, C.B. (EARL OF KELLIE).

The Honourable Colonel Walter Coningsby Erskine, C.B., also retired in 1861, after distinguished political service in Central India during the Mutiny. We mention this, as the subject of the foregoing brief sketch was cousin to the very recently deceased Earl of Mar, now (1866) succeeded in the estates by Colonel Erskine (cousin to the late Earl), under the title of the Earl of Kellie. So much for the rise of the cadet who went out to the Bengal Presidency in 1827. To future historians, among the various fortunes of the famed Erskines of Mar, not the least remarkable will be that of the soldier (and after political) who found his way to India! We may here state that John Thomas Erskine, 13th Earl of Mar, son of John Francis, 12th Earl, married Miss Janet Miller, daughter of Patrick Miller, Esq., of Dalswinton, in Dumfriesshire, and had issue one son, the Honourable John Francis Miller Erskine, and two daughters. The now deceased nobleman, John Francis Miller Erskine, 14th Earl of Mar and Kellie, was born at Dalswinton about the year 1794–5.† He must have been born in the old mansion; for the present was not erected till some years after. However, the grounds, and lake (on which the first steamboat experiment took place) remain the same; and while we think of the place as hallowed by scientific achievement, history reminds us that here was born the descendant of an Earl who had the "custody of his infant Sovereign, Queen Mary," till 1548; and from whom was descended the next Earl, his son, who had charge of James VI., afterwards King of England, when an infant. This Earl, the sixth of a great line "whose origin is lost in its antiquity," was highly distinguished by his Sovereign, and, as we read,

* Sir George Cornish Whitlock, K.C.B.

† In his early days he served in the Army, and was present at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. He died at Alloa House on the 19th of June, 1866, in his 71st year.

bringing the immortal inventor of abridging calculation by Logarithms to memory, "was the friend and fellow labourer of Baron Napier of Merchiston!"

Lieut.-Colonel the Earl of Kellie died at Cannes, 15th January, 1872. He held several military and civil appointments in India; received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was created a C.B. (Civil Division) for his conduct in the Indian Mutiny; he also had medals for the "Sutlej" and "India."

MAJOR-GEN. ALBERT FYTCHE, C.S.I.*

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General Fytche, late Chief Commissioner of British Burma, was born in 1823, and educated at Rugby and Addiscombe. At the age of sixteen he obtained his commission in the Bengal army, and (like many distinguished men) commenced work in earnest at an early age. Before he was twenty, while serving as a lieutenant in the Arakan Local Battalion, he did credit to Rugby and Addiscombe while gaining his first laurels (1841) by routing out and punishing a wild hill-tribe, known as the Wallengs, who had committed several raids on the British frontier. It was a difficult service. The position to be attacked was on a precipitous mountain, 4,000 feet high, with sides so steep that the inhabitants of the place could only ascend it by ladders. In the face of strong opposition Lieutenant Fytche dislodged the enemy, and for this gallant attack received the thanks of the British Government. In 1845 he joined the Commission of Arakan; but in 1848 he left civil employ to take part in the second Sikh war, and distinguished himself at Chilianwallah and Guzerat. During the latter famous and decisive action, he was selected by General Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert to storm the key of the Sikh position, and in performing this important service Lieutenant Fytche was severely wounded. He also joined in the pursuit in which the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan was so nearly taken prisoner. After the Sikh war Lieutenant Fytche returned to the Commission of Arakan, but in 1853 was appointed Deputy-Commissioner of Bassein, in the new British province of Pegu, where he performed services

* Written in March, 1873; forming portion of a sketch of the General's "Administration of British Burma." The growing importance of Burma must form an excuse for the administrative details here given.

which must at once recommend themselves to every saving War Minister or economical Chancellor of the Exchequer. They are recorded in a "Narrative of the Second Burmese War." On one occasion Captain Fytche penetrated to the haunts of bands of armed robbers, who were ravaging the country, accompanied by a band of irregular followers whom he had raised and drilled himself, and by this daring act succeeded in routing and dispersing the enemy, and restoring tranquillity in that quarter of his district, with a wonderfully small bill of costs for an army. On another occasion, which even more strongly recommends itself, the Captain attacked a strong entrenchment of the banditti, and shot their chief with his own hand. But his most daring and economical exploit was against the ex-Governor of Bassein, who had collected an army of 3,000 men, with a gathering of camp followers which raised the aggregate to about 10,000; Captain Fytche attacked them after a forced march, with his detachment of Irregulars, accompanied by four field-pieces; the engagement was most successful. Captain Fytche, with an energy worthy of a Malcolm or an Outram, not only dispersed the enemy and killed their leader, but captured nine guns and upwards of 3,000 stand of arms, and so much plunder, that with the proceeds he was enabled to pay all the expenses of his carriage and other charges without the cost of a rupee to the State.* On this occasion we were led to remark:—"With such a force, the blue-jackets and four field-pieces, we think that a successful march might have been made even on Amrapoora, 'the city of the immortals,' itself!"

As we cannot here detail the Captain's numerous other exploits for the next few years, all performed in the most gallant manner, let us pass on to 1857, when Major Fytche was appointed Commissioner of Tenasserim and Martaban, a most important post, which he held with great credit for a period of ten years. Tempered by the Commissioner's judgment and discretion, which greatly adorned his administration, under his mild rule the territory enjoyed an order and tranquillity which formed a significant contrast to the more

* *See* "Second Burmese War"—Pegu—pp. 385–389.

demonstrative proceedings which were carried on in other provinces of the British Empire in the East. In March, 1867, Colonel Fytche was appointed to the still more important post, in succession to Sir Arthur Phayre, of Chief Commissioner of British Burma and Agent to His Excellency the Viceroy of India. His four years' administration date from March, 1867, to March, 1871; and before taking his departure from the Province on furlough to Europe, the Chief Commissioner put upon record some interesting particulars respecting the past history of his administration, and its progress during the time it had been entrusted to his care. His distinguished predecessor, Sir Arthur Phayre, previous to his departure from Burma, had submitted to the Government of India statistical tables of the progress of the province prior to 1867; and so the wholesome practice has been established in Chin-India (as the French geographer, Malte-Brun, aptly styles India beyond the Ganges), of an administrator finishing his chequered course by displaying his talents as author or reviewer. General * Fytche had just reason for entering on a comprehensive review when we consider that the main portion of his life had been spent in the country, and that for more than thirty years he had been serving in one or other of the three divisions of Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim.

Passing over some valuable particulars, especially concerning the rapid improvement of Arakan and Tenasserim (which provinces came into our possession in 1826) under British administration; at the present time, when, probably in a true spirit of wisdom suited to the age, annexation is *not* the policy of our Indian Government, it is interesting to read General Fytche's remarks on Lord Dalhousie's not taking a mode of action which, in our opinion, might have led to making northern Burma British, and the omission of which, for political reasons, appears to the General to have been open to question. He alludes to the "premature withdrawal" of the expedition, in 1852:—"Had that force been allowed to remain a few weeks longer, our political relations

* Appointed Major-General in the Army, November, 1868, and Companion of the Exalted Order of the Star of India.

with the Court of Ava might have been established on a lasting basis, which would have proved beneficial to both states. Fortunately the result has been in a great measure achieved in later years, partly by diplomatic action, and partly by a spontaneous display of friendship and confidence on the part of his Majesty the King of Ava, which was previously unknown."

It is curious to remark that when General Fytche came to India (1841), while the Government was rashly contemplating the occupation of Afghanistan, Burma was so little cared for, that a withdrawal from the country was more than once seriously contemplated. The revenue was insufficient to meet the expenditure, and the public opinion of civilized nations had not yet reached the fertile valley of the Irrawaddy,* from the sea-coast upward to the wild tribes which intervene between Burma and China, which region "was in the hands of a cruel and barbarous despot utterly ignorant of the great world around him."

General Fytche, in a "Memorandum," reviews his administration during four years, under the several heads of Foreign Policy, Internal Administration, and Public Works. Under the head of Foreign Policy his review of the progress of our relations with the Court of Ava—especially at a time when the Burmese Embassy, after receiving the utmost consideration and attention, has so recently left London—is highly interesting.

The other countries upon our frontier also come well under notice.

When entrusted with the administration of Burma, early in 1867, one of the Chief Commissioner's first objects was to open up a friendly intercourse with the King, and to endeavour, through Major Sladen (who was at that time his assistant at the Court of Mandalay), to remove all suspicions from the mind of His Majesty, and to convince the Burmese Government that the only object of the British was to pro-

* According to the highest authority (Sir Arthur Phayre) *Irâwadi* is the correct spelling of this word; for the etymology of which, see *Ashé Pyee*, p. 81. "Poonghi"—a Burmese priest—should be also spelt *Phongyee*, though the common spelling is retained in this Sketch.

mote, by mutual concessions, the material interests of the two States. At that time so little had been accomplished in the way of developing the trade with Upper Burma, under the treaty of 1862 (which proved to be of little or no advantage to British interests and trade), that during the whole interval that had elapsed between that year and the date of Colonel Fytche's taking charge of the administration in 1867, only four merchant steamers had made their way to Mandalay. One of his earliest measures was to provide for a more rapid and regular communication, not only between Rangoon and the frontier town of Thayetmyo, but between Thayetmyo and Mandalay, the capital of Ava, and with the stations in the Ava territory still further inland, as far as the remote and decaying commercial city of Bhamo.

While Commissioner of Tenasserim and Martaban, in 1864, Colonel Fytche had carried on some important negotiations with the Siamese Commissioners especially appointed by the King of Siam, respecting the line of boundary between British territory and that country. Matters, unsettled for forty years, were brought to a successful issue. Proceeding to the boundaries in person, in less than two years, through the Commissioner's negotiations, the line of frontier was surveyed and demarcated,* and duly ratified by a treaty between the Government of India and the King of Siam. This business appears to have been so well managed that it was natural to expect great results from the visit of the new Chief Commissioner to Mandalay, in 1867. Colonel Fytche succeeded in negotiating a very important treaty with the King of Burma—forming the basis of our present political relations with the Court of Mandalay—under which the oppressive monopolies of the King were abandoned, and a fixed rate of frontier duties was finally settled; whilst the country was fairly opened up to European enterprise, and with such advantageous results to British merchants that during the following year the trade with Upper Burma was nearly doubled. At the same time Colonel Fytche won the

* An excellent and much-lamented officer, Lieutenant Bagge, R.E., was employed in this work.

confidence of the King, and thus obtained His Majesty's permission to the despatch of an expedition, under Major Sladen, towards Western China, *via* Bhamo,* with the view of re-opening an ancient and important trade between Burma and Western China, which had been closed only ten years previously in consequence of wars between some Mussulman tribes known as Panthays, and the Chinese local governors. Opening up the old trade route, among other objects, had the important one of encouraging the influx of population into British territory.

By this expedition in 1868, the energetic and fearless Sladen did for this part of Asia what Sir Alexander Burnes had effected by his travels into Bokhara; he cast a line of light—*une ligne lumineuse*, as the great Humboldt said of Sir Alexander—around a hitherto unknown region. The Major succeeded, not only in visiting Bhamo, but in penetrating the Kachyen hills as far as Momein, and opening up communications with the Panthay chiefs of Talifoo, the capital of Yunan; so the Chief Commissioner has good reasons for thinking there can be no question that with a rapidly-increasing steam communication with Bhamo,† the old trade will speedily revive, and the river Irrawaddy become the Ganges of Burma.

The value of Pegu as a British possession in the East is particularly noticed by General Fytche.

Indeed, it may be safely asserted that without Pegu our possessions in Burma are of comparatively small value; but that with Pegu our territory in Burma has become "one of the most prosperous provinces of our Eastern Empire." Beyond all question, the General's four years' administration of Burma has been eminently successful, externally as well as internally; and at its close, it is highly pleasing to note the following results:—

"A British officer has been appointed to reside perma-

* Here, where Burmese and Chinese influences commingle, we hope yet to see an exchange-mart for the silk, copper, gold, drugs, and textile fabrics of Western China, and for British and Burmese staples.

† In 1869 Captain Strover was appointed to reside at Bhamo as assistant political agent.

nently at Bhamo. A mixed court has been established at Mandalay for the trial of cases in which British subjects are concerned. Every year Upper Burma is brought more and more into communication with the western world; whilst the prosperity of British Burma is such, that within the last ten years her population and revenue have both doubled; and whilst she has to maintain herself against a frontier more considerable and difficult than that of the Punjab, she contributes one-sixth of her revenue to the Imperial treasury, after meeting all charges, military and civil."

As regards roads, railways, and other public works, very much was effected under General Fytche's administration. A complete system of Imperial roads was prepared, and a line of railway was surveyed between Rangoon and Prome.* Embankments were constructed, whereby large tracts of culturable territory, which had been abandoned to swamp, have been rescued. New lighthouses were constructed at Krishna Shoal, China Buckeer, and Eastern Grove. Plans were submitted to the Government of India for connecting Burma with India by a submarine cable. Gaols and civil courts were constructed at every important station in Burma, in the place of the wretched huts which had previously done duty. Education was promoted, and strong efforts were made to utilise the hundreds of monastic schools (under the yellow-garbed *poonghis*, or priests) throughout the province, and to render them available for the better instruction of the masses.

The employment of Burmese officials had been largely promoted; a more regular system had been introduced into the revenue and judicial courts throughout the province; a vaccination department had been organized, and local gazettes established in English and Burmese, bearing favourable comparison with those published in the Presidencies of India.

So much, then, for British Burma under General Fytche; a province which has improved in a greater ratio than, perhaps, any other in British India, and which the Chief

* *See* p. 29.

commissioner thinks it will be always well to administer in accordance with the national institutions.

Education in India is a great question, and has been so since the days of Lord William Bentinck. The present Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, was not out of order when he declared that the Indian education question was a greater one than that which has "temporarily checked Mr. Gladstone."* In Burma, or India beyond the Ganges, there are some peculiar features about the question not to be met with elsewhere. Allusion has been made to the monastic schools under the Poonghis, reminding us, so far as zeal in the teachers is concerned, somewhat of schools under the parish priesthood of Ireland. About 1865, the Chief Commissioner (Sir A. P. Phayre) had drawn up a famous Memorandum on Vernacular Education for British Burma, and the plan was at length to be given a trial. This drew forth a strong protest from an opponent of the scheme, who thought that it was so thoroughly antagonistic to the principles on which the Buddhist priests live and have their being, that it could not be otherwise than a failure. The champion of the masses in Burma argued thus:—What is a Poonghi? A Poonghi is a man who has given up all intercourse with the outer world, as far as worldly affairs go. His great object in this world is to practise virtue, and to become proficient in the various qualifications as ordained by his religion. The subjects which we would all like to see more largely diffused in the Burman mind are purely worldly—land measuring, arithmetic, history, and geography, &c. That the Burman priests hold schools, is true, but to convey to the English mind the nature of the instruction given, we should call them Sunday schools. The boys go to the Kyoungs daily, to be taught their religion only. To get the priests to be secular, you must strike at the root of their religion, which is to renounce everything pertaining to this world. General Fytche, throughout his administration, studied the nature and character of Buddhist schools; but, although he thought very highly of Sir Arthur Phayre's suggestion, that the monastic schools might be made the basis of a national

* Speech at opening of the University Hall, Calcutta, March 13, 1873.

system of education, increased knowledge of them opened the Chief Commissioner's eyes to difficulties which had not appeared to his predecessor—still, difficulties not insurmountable. As we do not wish to weary our readers, we shall give no further details on this matter, but merely remark that there is not a village in Burma which has not a school, and there is, consequently, scarcely a Burman to be found who cannot read, write, and cypher in the vernacular.* In 1866, Mr. Hough had been appointed Director of Public Instruction; there were also four circuit teachers—the whole forming the educational department. Previous to this, the present writer had the honour of being appointed by Sir Arthur Phayre, the first Inspector of Civil Schools in Burma. In 1870, upwards of 12,000 youths were being instructed under British superintendence. While Commissioner of Tenasserim, General Fytche believes that he founded the first school in British Burma for the exclusive education of girls; and after taking charge of the province, both the General and Mrs. Fytche endeavoured to promote female education by every means in their power. This was, indeed, a move in the right direction; for, after all, female education is the grand lever for mental progress in Eastern lands.

Progress is the word we should more frequently apply to India and Burma. India is, or at least should be, of no politics. It only acknowledges one law—the law of progress; and, like the science of geology, what in the history of that progress is its "goal to-day," may be its "starting point to-morrow." In looking at Burma, therefore, let us observe this "princess among the provinces" in such a fair light. In British Burma the progress of education is encouraging.

It must have been pleasing to General Fytche, at the close of his administration, to know that the bonds of relation between the British Government and the Court of Ava were drawing the two countries into closer communica-

* Compare with Bengal, where, says Mr. Wodrow, Inspector of Schools, only two and a half to three per cent. of the people can read and write their mother tongue.

tion than could have been anticipated at any previous period. The King had sent several young Burmese to Europe to be educated, whilst he welcomed any European merchant or official who paid a visit to his capital. Siam—a country whose frontier is conterminous with that of British territory—was also in a satisfactory condition; and we all know that the promising young King, of many names, last year * paid an interesting visit to India. Doubtless it is, in some measure, on account of the tact and wisdom of our "politicals" that the Kings of the East are becoming less shy of us than formerly. We have had embassies from proud Burma and exclusive Japan in London; and this year the Shah of Persia, after saluting the Czar, is to honour us with a visit. For the first time in the world's history the Shah will leave his dominions for Western Europe; and his arrival in the modern Babylon will of course set young people a-reading "Lalla Rookh" (tulip-cheek); fashionable novels will for the time give way to the "Veiled Prophet of Khorassan:"

"That delightful province of the sun,
The first of Persian lands he shines upon;"

and young students, with a "coached" knowledge of Hafiz, will be ready for examination in Persian. The advent of the Persian monarch we should look upon as a most important political, as well as social, event, since, through the Shah's dominions, in case of Russian attack, the approach to India, *must* lie.† Next year, perhaps, to crown our foreign policy, we may expect the Golden Foot himself, and then there will only be the Emperor of China‡ left who has not honoured us, but who, with his young bride, when (with the permission of the Board of Astronomers) he does come, will be heartily welcome! Britannia is extending her hand to all the world.

Returning to Burma. The tribes on the Arakan frontier

* King of Siam, January, 1872.

† And *not* by way of the "disputed frontier."—Sir Henry Rawlinson.

‡ His Celestial Majesty died at Pekin in January, 1875, at the early age of 19.

and region beyond—wild, savage people, of a very primitive type—occupied General Fytche's attention. He found that they practised the system of kidnapping and slavery amongst themselves, which his administration did its best to suppress. Early last year (1872) the Loshai country, lying on the south-western frontier of Bengal, and extending thence to Burma, became the scene of a campaign. The hardy mountain tribes, who for years had made raids on the neighbouring British territory, were punished, surveys were made, and more knowledge of the country gained. At that time the General had for several months left his post of Chief Commissioner; still he must have been deeply interested in the operations, as they tended to solve the questions connected with the administration and political control of these remote regions.

The internal administration of British Burma, from 1867 to 1871, seems to have been a complete success; and it was most gratifying to the administrator to observe the large increase in the trade of the province, especially in the year 1868-69. This commercial progress was no doubt due in great measure to the new markets which were opened up in Upper Burma, in consequence of the treaty which General Fytche had concluded in 1867.

The defences of the Province were in a most unsatisfactory condition. The great pagoda of Rangoon (stormed by the British in April, 1852), with the arsenal lying to its westward, were neither entrenched nor rendered secure. "Practically, it may be said that, at the commencement of 1867 the province was—setting aside the presence of the troops—in a defenceless state by sea and land;" and on his departure, with the exception of the near completion of the Rangoon pagoda and arsenal defences, General Fytche could not record that the province was in a more advanced state in the matter of defence than it was four years before. But so far as the local administration was concerned, the needful steps had been taken for materially improving the military position of the province, which should never be left without a considerable European force, and, in our humble opinion, which should have its frontiers strengthened by a fortress

system similar to that now being adopted in Germany.* With reference to the well-timed despatch of Colonel Jervois, R.E., by the Home Government of India, to look after the defences of Calcutta, Bombay, and Aden Harbours, and the approaching visit of the estimable, but now lamented, Earl of Mayo to Rangoon, when it was thought that the merchants would urge on the Viceroy the importance of our founding an extensive traffic with South-Western China, we wrote:† "The defences and battery at Monkey Point, which commands the Rangoon River, will require the attention of Colonel Jervois. Monkey Point must be put in the strongest state of defence; and to do this an intelligent artillery officer suggests that two more forts should be built, one on the Poozendoung Spit to the left, and another on the Dalla side of the Rangoon River. These with the Monkey Point Fort, would render the passage impracticable, and this is absolutely necessary in case a Russian, American, or even German squadron should one day visit the future Liverpool or Glasgow of Chin-India." At Lord Mayo's request, the Secretary of State for India allowed Colonel Jervois to visit Burma with the Viceroy, from which no doubt good results have been obtained.

General Fytche alludes to the interest felt in British Burma by his Excellency Lord Mayo; and it was a matter of sincere regret to the Chief Commissioner that His Lordship's visit to Rangoon, which was seriously contemplated in 1870, should have been indefinitely postponed. The General thus missed a grand opportunity; and we much regret that neither of the two administrators of British Burma (Phayre and Fytche) could welcome to its shores the high-souled and chivalrous Viceroy.

It may be here remarked that the Chief Commissioner had an interview with Lord Mayo in Calcutta, early in 1870, and took back with him to Burma his Lordship's reply to a Rangoon address. His Excellency declared the growing

* Their system of classifying forts, and the adoption of strategical railways, demand our attention in India as well as in Burma.

† 25th January, 1872.

prosperity of British Burma to be specially interesting to him, and promised a visit to the province as soon as public duty would permit. Such a visit we venture to think would greatly tend to facilitate the discussions on the necessities of Burma in the Executive Council of Calcutta. Since Lord Dalhousie's time no Governor-General had visited Pegu. The remarkable words uttered by the Viceroy to the Burmese Community at Rangoon, in January, 1872, will not be forgotten so long as Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim remain British; for they contain the grand desire of our Indian Government at home and abroad:—"We govern (said Lord Mayo) in order that you should live in peace, prosperity, and happiness; that you should be free to come and go; that whatever you possess should be secure; that all your rights should be preserved, and your national customs and habits respected."

In closing our remarks on a very useful four years' administration we must not omit a name regarding public works particularly alluded to by General Fytche: the name of Fraser will ever be linked with Rangoon and British Burma. After the capture of the Citadel, Colonel Fraser (Bengal Engineers) became the architect of new Rangoon, which seemed to rise as if by magic from the old; and of late years another Colonel* (Alexander) Fraser, of the same corps (now Royal), in addition to other important duties, has completed many lighthouses around the Burmese coast. "The name of Colonel Fraser," writes General Fytche, "must ever be associated with the ease and safety with which a hitherto dangerous coast may now be navigated." British Burma, through the triumphs of science, can now fairly say regarding her coast—

> "Steadfast, serene, immovable, the same,
> Year after year, through all the silent night
> Burns on for evermore that quenchless flame,
> Shines on that inextinguishable light."†

Having now given so much of work well done, let us think for a moment how few persons in this country under-

* Afterwards Major-General.

† "The Lighthouse," by LONGFELLOW.

stand the vast trouble and responsibility attending the Chief Commissionership of such a province as British Burma. True, he is monarch of all he surveys; but everyone expects a berth from him, and all sorts of adventurers besiege him for appointments. Even the loafer from Australia, with some got-up story about coming over with horses to Calcutta, prowls about as if he had a right to be employed. On one occasion an adventurer, with an extraordinary quantity of what is vulgarly called "brass," solicited employment on the ground that he could do it "cheap,"* as if he were talking of mending a coat or taking a contract, when, for the important duties required, the man would have been dear at any price! To steer well clear of such annoyances requires some tact; and in all cases, to put the right man into the right place has been an object steadily kept in view in the administration of British Burma.

In a record of General Fytche's services, drawn up in March, 1873, after alluding to the prospects of the ancient and important trade between Burma and Western China being re-opened—"for which Great Britain should largely pay when such a consummation would be fraught with so much benefit to British trade at home"—it was remarked (notwithstanding a difference of opinion as to some of the political actions of the late Chief Commissioner) that his labours had "smoothed the way for a new and mighty field of enterprise."† The noble Irrawaddy would sooner or later become the Ganges of Burma. And, in conclusion, it was stated:—"Mounted on the pedestal of purpose, wherever good could be effected, it was, often in the face of difficulties, readily accomplished; and now we look with pride on British Burma, as a province which has improved in a far greater ratio than perhaps any in British India,—the result of such able administrators as Phayre and Fytche."—

* We heard this from Sir Arthur Phayre himself.

† A telegram from Rangoon, December 12, 1874, announced that the second Western Chinese Expedition had started under Colonel Browne. For a reference to this ill-fated expedition, in which Mr. Ney Elias (as geographer) distinguished himself, and a brave promising member of the Consular service, Mr. Margary, was murdered, see "Our Burmese Wars," &c., pp. 361-62.

General Fytche's seat is Pyrgo Park, Havering-atte-Bower, Essex, and he represents one of the oldest Essex County families—the Fytches of Danbury Place and Woodham Walter, and of Eltham and Mount Maskall, in Kent. He is a Magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for Essex, and is also a Magistrate for County Tipperary, where he has also an Estate.* So our esteemed Anglo-Indian has opportunities of doing good accorded to few.—In 1878, the General brought out his handsome and most interesting work, in two volumes, *Burma, Past and Present*, of which he intended to publish a new and cheaper edition, but which has not yet appeared.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN IN PARLIAMENT.

After three or four years at home, a steady and most laudable aim of our zealous Anglo-Indian was to serve in Parliament; and at the last General Election (early in 1874), General Fytche came forward and contested Rye in the Liberal interest. He was defeated, after a severe struggle, by a small majority. As has been remarked elswhere, India has no politics, or should cause no political bias in the minds of those acting for the benefit of our splendid dominion. "I do this for the good of India," the useful Anglo-Indian in Parliament must consider his watchword of action. Taking a broad survey of its people and its customs, and musing over the historic fact that ages before Athens and Rome promoted the arts of civilized life and literature, India was the seat of wealth and grandeur, it certainly does seem on such grounds, even to Liberals, that the strictest constitutional principles, or say the highest state of Conservatism, is the safe mainspring for political action in Hindustan—"unchangeable in the midst of change"—so, in the House of Commons, we may yet see gifted Members Liberals for England and Conservatives for India! Any way, the Anglo-Indian in Parliament should now be a more important personage than ever; and in the coming Session we hope to see him, *in a full House*, debating on the highly-important matters regarding the country to which he owes his all, which will be sure to come under his consideration! The M.P. for Hindustan has gone! Who is to succeed him? We trust it will be an Anglo-Indian orator, not

* *Vide* Essex County Hand Book, 1875.

tedious, but copious, explanatory, and fascinating. There is a grand field in the British Senate now open to Anglo-Indians; and if some clever and experienced men whom among them we could name, would only seek a seat in Parliament, an amount of practical good might be accomplished, of which at present we can form no adequate conception.*

A few days after sending the above remarks on the Anglo-Indian in Parliament to press, the writer was much gratified by reading the speech of the Marquis of Salisbury, on the occasion (Saturday, 23rd January) of his being presented with an address by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. His Lordship's views require no comment; and as they exactly chime in with those of the humble author of these sketches, it may be considered wise to insert some of them at this stage, as affording a noble and liberal guide for Secretaries of State who shall have India confided to their charge in generations yet unborn.

PARTY IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

At the commencement of his speech Lord Salisbury remarked:—"You have referred to the recent change of government. Indian politics, I am happy to say, are different from all other politics in this—that we know no distinction of party. Change of government does not of itself mean a change of policy. Opposition on other matters does not mean opposition on Indian subjects. I was well satisfied with the policy of the Duke of Argyll during the time that I was in opposition. I never expressed any dissatisfaction with, and am glad to be able to follow it now that I have acceded to office (applause). I observe that in some parts of the country it is now a subject of political comment—in fact, most political speeches seem to take that for their basis—that there is no substantial difference between the policy of the present government and the last, and political controversy is very much becoming a controversy not as to the nature but as to the copyright of measures that are proposed (laughter). Well, gentlemen, this is not a political assembly, and therefore I shall not say what I might in another place have to say on the subject of the copyright of measures that are proposed; but what is the

* Written in January, 1875.

taunt with respect to other parts of English policy is our object and aim with respect to Indian policy, and our most earnest desire is that (to borrow a figure from a matter which has been a good deal in controversy in India) there will never be any break of gauge observed in the government of India —(applause)—and, in doing so, I must do justice, in passing, to my predecessor."

SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.*

—o—

"A CLASS of public servants which has never been equalled upon earth."—Such was the eulogy bestowed by a high authority on the many illustrious men produced under the system of the old East India Company. And, certainly, when we look at their actions, the difficulties they had to encounter, and the vastness of the splendid dominion in which they laboured, the praise seems not undeserved. On the present occasion we desire to say a few words regarding the services of one whom Lord Carnavon has just appointed to the Governorship of Mauritius,—"another example," it has been well observed, "of the system under which a new career is opened to those public servants who have attained a high Indian reputation; and we trust that Sir Arthur Phayre will prove as successful in Mauritius as Sir John Peter Grant has been in Jamaica."

Sir Arthur became an ensign in the Bengal army on the 13th August, 1828, a lieutenant in 1835, a captain in 1843, major in 1854, and lieutenant-colonel on the 22nd January, 1859. He was appointed to the Bengal Staff Corps in February, 1861, and five years later held the rank of colonel. In August, 1870, he became a major-general, which military rank he now holds, with the honourable adjuncts of C.B. and K.C.S.I., after an arduous service of forty years in the East.

From the first he was essentially a political officer, for, as in the cases of Malcolm and of Munro, the duties of drill and discipline were second in his mind to the more noble work of settling the affairs of kingdoms. It was

* Written in September, 1874.

during the second Burmese War, 1852-53, after that "brilliant feat of arms," the capture of Rangoon,* and when the important towns of Bassein, Prome, and Pegu had fallen into our hands, while the energy of the great Pro-Consul, Lord Dalhousie, on behalf of his favourite annexation, had reached its *acme*, that Captain Phayre was looked upon as the only man fitted to be the future administrator of the conquered kingdom. Pegu, released from the tyranny of the Golden Foot, was, under the Bengal Captain, soon to behold Justice beginning to breathe, and civilisation struggling to be born. It was thought that the administrative talents of Captain Phayre—who had been "one of the chief means of turning the swamps of Arakan into the granary of the Bay, and whose forte lies in making a little kingdom a great one"—would soon render Pegu a most important and valuable British possession. About the middle of January, 1853, the new Commissioner arrived at Rangoon with the Governor-General's proclamation annexing Pegu to the British territories in the East. The reading of this document at the stronghold of Gautama we have no doubt Sir Arthur considers not the least important action in his busy life; while hardly less remarkable was another, when, a year or two after, in the marble hall of Government House, Calcutta, Major Phayre, as interpreter, by desire, and in the presence of the Governor-General, announced to the Burmese Envoys—who had come by command of the King of Ava to seek restitution of the whole of the captured provinces—that "AS LONG AS THE SUN SHINES IN THE HEAVENS, THE BRITISH FLAG SHALL WAVE OVER THOSE POSSESSIONS!"—a capital lesson for shortsighted political sentimentalists who talk of giving up any of the conquests of Great Britain.†

When Sir Arthur Phayre had finished his work in Pegu,

* April 14, 1852.

† Nearly the last words uttered by the writer of this sketch to Sir Arthur, in St. James' Square, on the eve of his departure for Mauritius, were on the above subject. The decided speech of Lord Dalhousie will afford to many a melancholy reminiscence of what Lord Mayo (nearly twenty years later) told the Burmese at Rangoon in January, 1872. In his own admirable manner, he said that Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim were British, "AND BRITISH THEY WILL REMAIN FOR MANY GENERATIONS OF MEN!"

he was (1862) appointed the first Chief Commissioner of British Burma, i.e., Pegu, Arakan, and Tenasserim. No better representative of his Excellency the Viceroy could have been appointed; and in March, 1867, when he gave up his high post to General Albert Fytche, Pegu might have been looked upon as possessing a model administration. Within a period of fifteen years (from 1853), British Burma had attained a prosperity which could be favourably compared with that of any province in India; and in the ten years, from 1855–56 to 1864–65, the revenue was doubled. At the same time, the population—which had been essentially reduced through the devastating wars which for centuries had desolated the entire region from Chittagong to Siam—increased from 1,252,555 to 2,196,180. The Official Report on the administration for 1866–67 does Sir Arthur full justice. The details of his labours are most carefully noticed. At first, writes one of his numerous admirers, "it seemed to announce what we hoped was only a visit to Europe for the recovery of his health. But it was really his retirement from British Burma." In the Report the following remarkable passage occurs—enumerating the qualities so essential for every good ruler or governor: "Whether at the commencement of his career as a district officer, or later when organising a new administration, or lastly as the head of the entire province, Sir Arthur Phayre has always been prominently distinguished by his mastery of details, his exceeding personal devotion to his duties, and his own sympathy with the people of the country which he ruled." His intimate knowledge of the Burmese language, and scholarly acquaintance with the dialects of the races in, and contiguous to, British Burma, and his close study of their history and characteristics, "rendered him an authority on the philology and ethnology of the Indo-Chinese nation"—perhaps, we venture to add, the soundest that England can boast. We have no doubt whatever that the learned and distinguished heads of the Royal Asiatic and Geographical Societies fully appreciate the few Oriental researches Sir Arthur has been enabled to make. Mr. Coryton, in a letter to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, takes care not to

omit another fine passage of the Report above mentioned, disclosing qualities which will recommend the new Governor to the people of Mauritius:—"His constant accessibility and courteousness to the people of the country, whatever their position, gained for him their confidence and respect to an unusual extent. He was careful of the rights of Government, but zealous and watchful over the interests of the native population. His great administrative capacity has been well shown by the rapid and progressive prosperity of the province, especially in the manner in which it has grown up under his direct guidance and control." Those who know Sir Arthur Phayre and his works well will endorse every word of this praise; and we may add that in the all-important matter of education there could not be a more zealous advocate for the diffusion of its blessings. For this alone he will ever be remembered by the people of Pegu, to whom he strove to give a national system of education founded on the best principles; while, for his works among them in general, Peguers, Burmese, and Karens (Deists, chiefly inhabiting the hills), for many generations to come, will, as in the case of the "Munro Sahib" in Southern, and in that of "Jan Malcolm Sahib" in Central India, make it apparent to the inquisitive traveller in a large portion of Chin-India that whoever mentioned the great Chief Commissioner—as Johnson said when extolling one of the poets—"mentioned him with honour."

In Sir Arthur's opinion, the chief essential for extending the commerce of Chin-India, and that of Great Britain and India with Western China, is *exploration;* and as the British Chambers of Commerce are now much interested in the subject, it may not be out of place to say here, what has been said elsewhere, that, in 1862, orders were communicated by the Government of India to Sir Arthur Phayre, when negociating a treaty with the King of Burma, "to include in it provisions for facilitating the commerce of British merchants with Yunnan." He still considers that our relations with the Golden Foot threw, and still throw, considerable difficulties in the way; and no one understands the keen trader and monopolising monarch so well as the

ruler who is now about to embark on a new scene of action. In a few years perhaps, the Chinese will have learnt to respect the rights of nations; and it is not improbable that before the expiration of Sir Arthur's new Governorship, through the strong influence of Burma, Siam, and England, "an artificial highway" will have opened up British trade with the south-western provinces of China.

The General expected to leave for Mauritius by the last steamer in October. He left England on the 20th October, 1874, having previously been honoured with a farewell interview by the Marquis of Salisbury at the India Office; and we have every reason to believe that the great merits of the distinguished Anglo-Indian are fully appreciated by the present Secretary of State. It is not enough to say that the appointment is an honour to the Indian Army; many of us see in the laudable action of the Colonial Secretary that the clever and experienced Anglo-Indian "is no longer to be left out in the cold." It is not at all likely that the statesman who ruled so well in Chin-India will make only a second-rate Governor of such an important possession as the Isle so famed in history and romance; and if Mauritius, under Sir Arthur Phayre, does not exactly—as Grattan said of Ireland when boasting of having given her Free Trade—"rise from the sea and get nearer to the sun," we may still venture to predict many great improvements therein. The political school in which Sir Arthur rose to eminence is probably one of the severest in the world. His knowledge of the cunning and duplicity of the Mongol races, kings, and chiefs, with whom he has had every variety of dealing, preventing any chance of imposition on the part of those in whose interests he laboured, will never be without value; while his rare appreciation of the position and wants of the British merchant abroad, and the desire he ever evinced in Chin-India to be courteous to all, will be sure to gain him troops of friends. Before the new Governor's departure for Mauritius, he received a deputation from the Aborigines Protection Society. In addition to the state of the coolies, Sir Arthur will, no doubt, bring his practical mind to bear on the sanitary condition of the lower classes of the com-

munity and time-expired emigrants, "with a view to the prevalence of epidemic fever and cholera being prevented" from effecting the destruction of life hitherto, at intervals, experienced.

Before another twelve years had elapsed, our illustrious friend was dead. A silver cord had been loosed, and a golden bowl broken, which, so far as Burma was concerned, was beyond all price. The following interesting obituary notice appeared a week after the sad event :—

SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE.

We regret to announce that Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Purves Phayre, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.B., formerly Chief Commissioner of British Burma, was found dead in bed on December 15, 1885, at his lodgings in Bray, near Dublin. While men's minds are full of events in Burma, and of what the future destiny of that country shall be, there is an appropriate as well as melancholy interest in learning the death of the man who more than any one else is identified with English rule in Burma. Sir Arthur Phayre was not merely the first Commissioner of British Burma, but, as the historian Kaye has written, it was he who did for that part of our Empire what John Lawrence did for the Punjab. Twenty years have elapsed since Sir John Kaye stated that Phayre is "entitled to a place in the very foremost rank of those English administrators who have striven to make our rule a blessing to the people of India and have not failed in the attempt." Born seventy-three years ago, of a family which has given many soldiers to the national service, Arthur Purves Phayre entered the Bengal army as an ensign in 1828. He was attached at first to the 7th Bengal Native Infantry, and after seven years' service became lieutenant in 1835. Promotion was slow in those days, and after twenty-six years' service he only attained the rank of major in 1854. However, he had before that shown that his capacity lay rather in a diplomatic and an administrative direction than in a military. Employed in Arracan, a province which had fallen to our share in the first Burmese war, he had gained a high reputation for his knowledge of the Burmese language and

character, and for his skill in managing a light-hearted but still sensitive people. When Lord Dalhousie had to provide for the civil administration of those provinces taken from Burma in 1853, it was not unnatural that he should assign a position of great responsibility to the officer who had gained "a great name along the Eastern coast." Major Phayre was appointed Commissioner of Pegu, and it was he who read the Governor-General's proclamation annexing it before a multitude of Burmese subjects. Shortly afterwards the Burmese sent an embassy to Calcutta, and he interpreted the different speeches at the interview which culminated in Lord Dalhousie's famous declaration that "As long as the sun shines in the heavens the British flag shall wave over those possessions." Although Lord Dalhousie would not surrender territory, he agreed to send a complimentary mission in return, and Major Phayre was appointed English Envoy to Amarapoora, at that time the Burmese capital. He was accompanied by a large suite, and the secretary of the mission, the distinguished Colonel Yule, wrote a most interesting report of their experiences. It is unnecessary to repeat the details of this journey, which did not close with a treaty, although it left our relations on an amicable footing with a prince from whom we had taken two provinces. After this mission Sir Arthur Phayre was appointed in 1863 the first Commissioner of the United Provinces of British Burma. Shortly after this increase of rank he was sent on a second mission to the new Burmese capital of Mandalay. This mission was nominally more successful than its predecessor, for it resulted in a treaty. On the first day of 1886, the annexation of Upper Burma to the dominions of the Queen-Empress was proclaimed; so what the great Pro-Consul, Lord Dalhousie, left undone in 1853, was now accomplished by Lord Dufferin. One of the principal stipulations of the treaty was the abolition of duties on our side, while the Burmese Government promised a similar step if it felt inclined within a few years. The residence of an English officer at Mandalay was also provided; but a very brief experience sufficed to show that the treaty possessed no practical value. We need not recall the numerous unpleasant collisions between Englishmen and Burmese in 1856–66, when a different turn was given to the whole question by an insurrection in the capital, during which the Crown Prince and other members of the family were slain. Colonel Sladen, who is now actively supervising the civil administration, was in Mandalay at

the time, and it was then that he first made a name for tact in dealing with this peculiar people. Colonel Phayre acted throughout the crisis not merely with great firmness, but also with great consideration for the difficulties of the Burmese ruler, and so much stress was laid on this moral support that Colonel Phayre went a third time as Envoy to Mandalay. All these hopes were rudely disappointed. The King showed himself more obstructive than ever, and when Sir Arthur Phayre retired from the Commissionership, in March, 1867, the question of our future relations with Upper Burma was in a very critical condition. But Sir Arthur Phayre's chief services in this quarter were rendered, not to the inhabitants of Independent Burma, but to those of the British province, and it is not too much to say that he accomplished a marvellous success in popularising English rule among an alien race. How this was done may be judged from the following passage taken from his last administrative report covering the period of his authority, which says:—"His constant accessibility and courteousness to the people of the country, whatever their position, gained for him their confidence and respect to an unusual extent. He was careful of the rights of Government, but zealous and watchful over the interests of the native population." In 1874, Sir A. Phayre was appointed by Lord Carnarvon to the Governorship of the Mauritius, from which post he retired in 1878, having attained, in the previous year, the rank of lieutenant-general, with the additional honour of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George. The last seven years of his life were passed in what may be called an honourable retirement, from which he only emerged to contribute some paper on the subject with which his name was identified to one or other of the learned societies. The paper, full of value, which he read before the Society of Arts in 1881, is perhaps the most valuable summary ever compiled upon that country and the question of our relations with it.* A distinguished Anglo-Indian (Sir Henry Norman) speaking on that occasion, said, tersely but truly, that "to speak of Burma was to speak of Sir Arthur Phayre."† — Not long before his death, Sir Arthur had been on a visit to Rome, from which city he wrote to the author that he was determined to see all before he died. The last occasion of meeting him was at Charing Cross, in the mid-

* For an analysis of this valuable paper, *see* the author's "*Ashé Pyee*: the Eastern or Foremost Country," p. 150 (supplementary chapter).

† *Homeward Mail*, Dec. 23, 1865.—*See* also Appendix V.

dle of 1885, when he looked hale, and spoke cheerfully as usual; and this, with his hearty manner, seemed to give promise of a long life. Early in 1886, a memorial in his honour was projected, several distinguished Anglo-Indians appearing in the subscription list.

THE BURMA RACE.*

(A CRITICAL SKETCH.)

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"The proper study of mankind is man."—POPE.

To Oriental students the subjoined sketch, it is presumed, will be of interest. It is founded on one of Sir Arthur Phayre's most learned contributions to Asiatic research; which, apart from the desire of knowledge, evinced the laudable and statesmanlike wish to know all about the people he was called upon to govern.

THE idea of the Chief Commissioner finding time, amid so much work of a constant attention-requiring, sometimes dry, and frequently unpleasant, nature, to write on the history of the Burma race, is another of the proofs occasionally presented to the world of the Anglo-Saxon's mental energy in lands where the love of deep study among us is not conspicuous;—the chief reason for which, perhaps, being that we are "exotics" or "fish out of water." From time to time, however, in literature and in science, men have appeared in the East who reflect the highest credit on their country; and whose writings and researches will be dear to the memory of the Oriental student till time shall be no more. England may be proud of having had not a few distinguished literary and scientific scholars in India. Colonels Sykes, Young, Boileau, and Davidson; also Captains Macnaghten, Richardson, and Newbold—the first and last in Oriental research and statistics, and the others in general literature—are the chief military names among India's periodical writers. Colonel or General Vans Kennedy, of the Bombay army, in days long gone by, was also one of the greatest of our Oriental scholars and writers.

* "On the History of the Burma Race." By Lieutenant-Colonel A. P. Phayre, C.B., Chief Commissioner of British Burma. (Contributed to the "Journal of the Asiatic Society.") The critical sketch, of which only a portion is here given, was written in 1872, and originally appeared in "Papers on Burma."

Burma is now beginning a new life. The *Conquest of Pegu* has been the means of this second birth; and no better manner of showing the world that we do not only conquer a country but endeavour to gain a knowledge of its people, could have been adopted, than that which is exhibited by Colonel Phayre in the present pamphlet.

We have before alluded, while writing of Lord Dalhousie,* to what Lord Macaulay says of Warren Hastings, "the Conqueror in a deadly grapple." And, although Pegu has for some years back been far from a settlement in commotion, still, in like manner, might we suppose the Chief Commissioner of this comparatively new conquest, amid many cares and anxieties, while a peaceful but rather eccentric King was watching the progress of trade among the British in Chin-India, and, as some said, amusing himself by erecting stockades and taking them down again,† and even turning an eye to the improved manufacture of ordnance in England—the Viceroy's Agent, finding a few hours to spare, to gratify his love of study and research, by writing a paper on the history of the Burma Race.

Some years ago Colonel Phayre was presented by the "King of Burma" (the letter *h* is omitted in what is the most correct spelling of the word) with a complete copy of the carefully preserved "Chronicles of the Kings" of this interesting land, which are styled *Maha Radza Weng*. These chronicles appear to have been compiled under the direction of His Majesty, himself a man of learning and research. Of this "national work," writes the author of the paper under notice,—"All that part of the history which refers to cosmogony and the dynasties of Kings in India, is derived from Pali books, and has no more real connexion with Burmese history than the Hebrew annals have with British history." (Page 1.)

The learned Dr. Mason‡ (author of a grammar of the Pali language) writes regarding the Pali, that it is the sacred

* "Pegu," p. 400.

† These stockades "in esse" were probably the acts of the "Fighting Prince," and not the King's. Sending embassies about the world appears to be the new political game on the part of His Majesty. In December, 1874, we read of an embassy from Burma about to visit the Viceroy, the object being unknown.

‡ This eminent man has gone to his rest. He was among the chief of those distinguished Americans who have done so much for the land of the Golden Foot; he was a missionary in the highest sense of the word, and all who take an interest in Chin-India must be acquainted with his famous book on "The Fauna, Flora, and Minerals of Burma."

language of 300,000,000 Buddhists. In it are written the [illegible]ncient inscriptions found in India, and the Vernacu[illegible] of all Buddhist nations abound in Pali terms and phrases . . . . "The Burmese books have as many Pali words in them as the English have Latin."

This will at once account for the many discrepancies found by the author of the paper on the history of the Burma Race, whose object is simply to make "an outline of the main facts, yet omitting nothing which is necessary to be known to understand the history of the Burmese race as written by themselves." First, we have the self-development of the world, and the appearance of man therein—the system of cosmogony, with the Buddhist philosophy and religion, being from India. The Burmese Kings, we are told, profess to trace their descent "from the Buddhist Kings of *Kappilawot* of the *Sakya* tribe, to which race *Gautama Buddha* belonged."

In the Royal history there is the Buddhist account of the first formation of human society—the election of a King, and the grant to him of a share of the produce of the soil; such legends, according to Colonel Phayre, constituting "to this day the foundation of the authority, temporal and spiritual, of the Burmese Kings."

Those old facts being "for ever present to the minds" of the Burmese, make them interesting in a political, as well as in a historical point of view; for with them, as a matter of course, are wrapped up certain views of the British law of progress at the present day, while Christianity is beginning to assert her triumphal reign on the ruins of old kingdoms fallen to pieces.

The student of Hindu mythology will derive some pleasure from analogy in his study of this paper on the Burma race. After an inexplicable chaos, the present earth emerged from a deluge.* The subsiding water left a delicious substance, which became spread over the earth. Gautama's throne first appeared above the water. At the same time the occupants of the "heavenly regions," called *Brahma*, had accomplished their destinies. Changing their state, they "became beings with corporeal frames, but without sex." The men arrive at "Paradise Lost" in Chin-India.

"From eating of the ambrosia, the light of the bodies of these beings gradually declined, and because of the darkness

* For similar curious information, relating to the Karens in particular, *see* Appendix to 'Pegu," a Narrative, &c., p. 500.

they became sore afraid." LIGHT—what a world of meaning lies in that single word! And well did Longinus consider the perfection of the sublime reached by the divine command at the beginning of all things, *Sit Lux et Lux Fuit!* Yes—"Let there be light, and there was light,"* whether as applied to creation or to fallen humanity, will be found, perhaps, to have sunk more into the minds of the intelligent or thoughtful among heathen nations than any other remark in the literature of any people or race. For, what dreadful ideas do we evolve from darkness! Take light away from the world, and we may as well take life. And it was a full sense of the truth of this remark which caused the mighty but erring genius of Lord Byron to pen that "grand and gloomy sketch† of the supposed consequences of the final extinction of the sun and the heavenly bodies, the very conception of which," says the father of modern criticism (Lord Jeffrey), "is terrible above all conception of known calamity."

From the "beings with corporeal frames," just alluded to, we are informed in a *note* that the people called by Europeans *Burmas*, Burmans, or *Burmese* take their name. In the Burmese language, "the name is written *Mran-má* or Mram-ma, and is generally pronounced by themselves *Ba má*." Talking of Ava, we find a geographical writer‡ of twenty years back remarking:—"By Europeans the country is generally called Ava, from the common name of the capital; but, by the natives themselves, it is named Burma, which is a corruption of *Mrumma*, its original appellation."

The truth of this latter remark would appear to be corroborated by the more recent research of Colonel Phayre, by whom we are now referred to the etymology of the word *Myan-ma* or Mran-má. Alluding to a paper by Mr. B. H. Hodgson, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, No. 1, of 1853, it is found that the author concludes that the term Burma or Burmese, "which is the Europeanised form of the name by which that people called themselves, can be traced to the native name for man. This, however, is open to some doubt; but Mr. Hodgson's general conclusion that the languages of the Himáláyan, Indo-Chinese, and Thibetan tribes of one family is fully justified."

The name, then, by which the Burmans are known to Europeans, or as the Burmese call themselves, is written *Mran-ma*, and sometimes *Mram-ma*, and is pronounced

* Genesis, c. 1, v. 3.

† "Darkness."—Byron's Works, in one vol. p. 564. ‡ Symonds.

Burma. The Arakanese call themselves Ma-ra-ma, which is "a variation of the same word."

Turning from the roots *mi* and *ma* in the Burmese language, we at length arrive at a most interesting conclusion by the author of the present paper:—"I cannot say how the Chinese got the word, but it is possible that *Mien* was the original name of the race, and contains the root meaning man." However that may be, the word in this or any similar sense is now entirely lost among the Burmese, excepted as noted in the term for woman (*Mién-ma* or *Mim-ma*), and it may be in *Mru* (race). "It does not appear," the author remarks, "as the name of any of the tribes with which the Burmese might be supposed to be immediately connected." On an assembly of the world's first inhabitants, we get at the origin of Kings and high priests:—"An excellent man, full of glory and authority, the embryo of our *Gautama Phra*, being entreated to save them, was elected king, and was called *Maha-tha-ma-dá*. In verse, it is sung that he was of pure nature, of exalted authority, and of the race of the sun. The Burmese "history" then informs us that, like a second sun, this Manoo dispelled darkness or ignorance. To the name of this early reformer, Colonel Phayre appends some interesting information:—"The word appears to mean generally lawgiver or king. The word is Indian not Burman;" simply, we presume, the far-famed Menu, the Indian lawgiver. From the following may be deduced an argument greatly in favour of the purity and antiquity of Buddhism. Next to the ruler came men of Wisdom; they were called *Brahmans*. Others tilled the ground and traded; they were called wealthy men and merchants. The rest being poor persons in humble employments were called *Soodras*, or poor people. Such were the four classes of men." Among them, it is remarked, it will be observed that the ruling power is placed first according to the Buddhist system. The Brahmans appear as "literati and ascetics."

We now come to when the embryo of *Gautama Phra*, a wealthy *Kap-pi-la Brahman*, having abandoned his house, had become a hermit in the Himalaya jungles or mountains. When we are told that eighty-four thousand kings reigned in *Kap-pi-la*, the native country of Gautama, in "distant after times," it is needless to inquire how princes came, or how time elapsed. But "Princes" did come to the hermit's place of secretion (whether a teak or a saulwood forest is not known). They came to the place "in search of a site

for a city." The hermit foresaw, with admirable sagacity, "that a city built there, would, in after time, be of great fame in *Dzam-bu-dee-pa*, the world of man, and advised them to build their city there and call it *Kap-pi-la-wut*." This, from a note, we learn, appears to signify "the Kap-pi-la Brahman's place of religious duty." Then the Princes consulted together saying, "There are with us no king's daughters of our own race, nor are there any king's sons for our sisters; if marriages are made with other races the children become impure; in order to preserve our race, let us put aside our eldest sister as a mother, and we four marry our four younger sisters?" It was done; and from that day the race became known as the *Tha-kya-tha-kee* race of *Kap-pi-la-wut*. Regarding the elder sister, Colonel Phayre remarks:—"In Burma to this day the king's eldest daughter is not given in marriage, but remains unmarried, at least during the life of her parents."—(P. 4.)

Regarding the word Phrá loung (*i.e.*, the embryo Phrá, a term for Gautama Buddha) the Chief Commissioner says, "The *Phrá*, now adapted into the Burmese language is, according to Professor Wilson, a corruption of the Sanscrit *Prabhu*, Lord or Master. This appears to be the most probable origin of the word. It certainly is not a pure Burmese word. The orthography of it in ancient stone inscriptions at Pughân is Bu-rhá and Pú-rhá. The Burmese have used the original much as European nations, have the Pali word Da-go-ba. The modern word is written *Phu-rá*."

After a terrific enumeration of sons and daughters of kings, we arrive at *De-wa-dat*. "This was the great opponent of *Buddha Gautama*. They were first cousins by birth, and *Gautama* had married *De-wa-dat's sister*." As the Kings of Burma claim to be descended from the *Tha-kya* race of *Kap-pi-la-wut* to which Gautama belonged, the intermarriages of that tribe are carefully detailed in the history.

Having brought down the narrative of events to the death of *Buddha Gautama*, the first volume of the work proceeds to give an account of the geography of the world of *Dzam-boo-dee-pa*, where the Buddhist Kings reigned. We now come to confusion worse confounded. And, truly, it may be styled, in the words of Colonel Phayre, a "mythological geography." *Dzam-boo-dee-pa* frequently represents "India prominently, and the world remotely."—(P. 7.)

As regards the countries of India—all cited by Colonel

Phayre, it is remarked, "There appears to be some confusion, resulting apparently from some states having in the course of time subdued others, and from the historian (of the *Maha Raza Weng*) not knowing that some small states appear sometimes as members of a confederacy in an extensive country called by one general name; and at other times are lost in the establishment of a monarchy." The first volume of the history concludes with maxims for kings and people.

Into Colonel Phayre's critical analysis of the second volume of the "History" we do not propose to enter at any length. Suffice it to say, that a great variety of interesting information is brought forward, from which much that throws light on the Burmese race may be gleaned. The brochure concludes with some most valuable "observations," from which we learn that the physiognomy and language of the Burmese people, as well as those of the adjoining tribes, proclaim them all to belong to the same family of nations as the tribes of Thibet and the Eastern Himalaya. As to whence they came, and how they arrived in Burma, Colonel Phayre writes:—"The theory of Prichard in his Natural History of Man on this subject is probable, is supported by existing facts, and accords with the physical geography of the regions north of the countries now occupied by the Indo-Chinese races." It is thought reasonable to conclude that tribes leaving the south-eastern margin of the great plateau of Central Asia, early in the existence of the human race, "would naturally follow the downward course of streams and rivers." And, among the earlier emigrants from that part of Asia towards the south, "as far as we can now discover, were the ancestors of the present *Mon* or *Talaing* people, the aborigines, so to speak, of Pegu." The Karens also, it is thought, left their ancient dwelling-place at an early period. Uninfluenced by Buddhism, and their language unwritten till the year 1830 A.D., their traditions of their own origin, or at least of the route by which they arrived at their present seats, "are therefore more trustworthy than those of the Burmese or the Talaings are, regarding themselves." Regarding the physiognomy of the Karens, the Chief Commissioner observes, "I must uphold that their national physiognomy is essentially Indo-Chinese, and their speech connects them with the same family." Again, he says:—"In every Indo-Chinese tribe occasional exceptions to the general flat physiognomy are met with; these are almost always among the men. The women have more frequently the true type of Mongolian or Bhotiya face."

It is, then, presumed that such tribes as the "Burmese, the Karens, and the Mon, would readily find their way from Central Asia by the courses of the rivers Salween and Menam towards the south. Some would be led westerly, and so gain the valley of the Irrawaddy, in the upper course of that river." Regarding some Bhuddist writings preserved in Ceylon, we arrive at the sonorous name of *Thoo-wan-na-bhoomee*. "By that name, no doubt, is meant the country inhabited by the Mon or Talaing race, and their chief city then was on the site of the present *Tha-Tung* lying between the mouths of the Salween and Sittang rivers. . . . . That gold was anciently found in that vicinity is testified from the Burmese name of Shwegyeen (Shoéghyne), literally 'gold washing,' now borne by a town on the Sittang; and gold is still found there, though probably in diminished quantity to what it was anciently. This, no doubt, was the origin of the name 'Aurea regio,' of Ptolemy." Many circumstances seem to show that the *Mon* or Talaing race received Buddhism before the Burmese did. It is difficult to say when the conjectures about Fo—"the son of a prince of India"—the *Samana Kautama of Pegu*, the *Samana Codium of Siam*, and the Foé or Xaca of China and Japan, *all* being the same person,*—will end; or if they ever end at all, whether the vast research expended on them will enlighten us much regarding the early history of this or that race. If this Fo were the Hindu Vishnu in one of his pretended incarnations, then, doubtless, much in Burmese history, as well as that of *Thoo-wan-na-bhoomee*, the country inhabited by the Mon or Talaing race, is accounted for. "Although the conversion," writes Colonel Phayre, "of the people of Suvanna Bhumi was planned by people in Gangetic India, it is not probable that so essential a sea-hating people had their own ships to convey the missionaries across the Bay of Bengal. Then, how did they arrive at their destination?" Regarding the mission to *Suvanna Bhumi*, the writer also remarks:—"It is probable that the people of the Coromandel Coast already had settlements on the Arakanese and Talaing Coasts as places of trade, and the Buddhists of Gangetic India would, in all probability, resort to some of the ports on the east coast of the continent, and not far from the head of the Bay of Bengal. At that time it is probable that the people of Teliugana carried on commerce with *Suvanna Bhumi*, and the Buddhist mission-

* CRAUFURD.—See also the author's work on "The Temple of Jagannáth," p. 12.

aries would embark in their ships." There is said to have been a Hindu Colony at Moulmein, the site of which was called Ramapoora. Until late years, the Burmese mixed up English and all Europeans with the natives of India in the one common appelation of *Kulá*, or western foreigners; and it is only since the war of 1825-26, with the British, "that they have learnt to distinguish between the more prominent of the nations lying west of them. But the fact still remains that the Burmese received religion and letters from India."

It now requires a good knowledge of the Burmese language to follow Colonel Phayre. "It does not appear that the Burmese people received their religion and letters through the medium of their cousins, the Arakanese, for that people refer to the eastward as their own source of both. The passage of Indian Buddhist missionaries, therefore, from Gangetic India through Bengal and Munnipore to Burma, is a probable event, but it took place much later than has been represented." The Chief Commissioner concludes his valuable paper with allusion to certain customs which "are tenaciously adhered to by the Royal Family of Burma, who consider themselves as ethnologically and religiously the descendants of the Buddhist Kings of Kapi-la-wot." We shall now conclude this brief and imperfect sketch by referring the reader to Colonel Phayre's valuable paper itself for further information on the Burma race, and by stating from such good authority:—In the matter of the race of the Burmese, they are undoubtedly what is now called Turanian, or by Cuvier and the old authors, *Mongolian*.* The notion of the descent of the Royal Family from Indian Rajas is regarded as incorrect. But it is now admitted that the Rajpoot tribes of India are *Turanian* also, the Brahmans being Aryan, or, as formerly called, Caucasian.

By intelligence of the 26th of February, 1870, from Bombay, it was announced that Sir Arthur Phayre, who had been making antiquarian researches in the north of India, was expected to produce "an exhaustive work on Buddhism." In such an event, we may fully expect a line

* In the "Lectures on the Science of Language," by Professor Max Müller, the Professor says, regarding the question, Whether or not originally Tatar was a name of the Mongolic races:—"Originally 'Tatar' was a name of the Mongolic races. The Mongolic class, in fact, has the greatest claim to the name of 'Tataric.' The recollection of their non-Tataric—*i.e.* non-Mongolic—origin remains among the so-called Tatars of Kasan and Astrachan."

of light to clear up what is still one of the great Asian mysteries.—As even a Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Mauritius may require an occasional holiday, it is not improbable that some such work from Sir Arthur's pen may yet afford food for discussion by eminent Orientalists.—Nov. 1874.—The principal work of Sir Arthur Phayre is "A History of Burma, including Burma Proper, Pegu, Taungu, Tenasserim, and Arakan. From the earliest time to the end of the first war with British India."—London, 1883.—He also wrote "The Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma," (1882), and was the author of various scientific papers in Periodicals.

SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I., F.R.S.

—o—

"Etiuim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit."—CICERO: "Oratio pro lege Manilia," cap. xx.*

THE retirement† of Sir John Kaye from the India Office, after a long and distinguished period of service, is an important event, on account of the intrinsic merits and vast experience of the late political chief, in whom Conciliation ever found a steady friend, and Annexation a determined foe. Doubtless the young Bengal Artilleryman, when he arrived in India, in 1783, little contemplated either the transfer of the glorious old Company's government to the Crown, or that (after being for nearly twenty years Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the East India House and India Office) he should one day retire with so much honour, gained after various political and literary work well and carefully done. But to say that an active mind like Sir John's could be at rest, would be to utter a preposterous fallacy. There is no rest on earth for such men. He, and some of the others whom we have so imperfectly sketched in these pages, remind one of the old Roman alluded to by Sir Walter Scott as anxious to adjust his mantle ere he fell, but who—as the Scottish Shakspeare makes John Philip Kemble say, on his retirement from the stage—like the

> ——— "worn war-horse at the trumpet's sound,
> Erects his mane, and neighs, and paws the ground,—
> Disdains the ease his generous lord assigns,
> And longs to rush on the embattled lines!"

* "In truth he is such a man, that no affair can be so great or so arduous, which he cannot direct by his wisdom, maintain by his integrity, and accomplish by his valour."

† The retirement of Sir John Kaye from his Secretaryship at the India Office was formally announced about the middle of October, 1874.

Yes—we may easily imagine, on a war-note sounding from Afghanistan or Central Asia, or in the event of another Mutiny (which God forbid!) the historian, rising even from a sick bed—the old fire returning to the fading eye—eager to seize his pen again!

"Rest!" says an eloquent divine,* "what have we to do with that?" Earth for work, heaven for wages; and so must it ever be with men of energy and intellect who are desirous of leaving "footprints on the sands of time."

We had written thus far, when a friend put Sir John Kaye's "Essays of an Optimist," (of which we had heard, but had not seen before) into our hands. There we found his views on "Rest," including those concerning "Superannuation," and the "Battle with Time;" which we deemed well worthy of attention. In his essay "Of Life," Lord Clarendon advises us to follow the wise rule laid down by an old philosopher—*pretium tempori ponere, diem æstimare*; to consider that "every hour is worth at least a good thought, a good wish, a good endeavour; that it is the talent we are trusted with to use, employ, and to improve." Sir John has not hidden this talent in the dark, "that the world cannot see any fruit of it;" and it is only a mind conscious of much valuable time well employed that could have produced the pleasing essay on "Rest." He thinks a well-timed retirement a most prudent action. "The time must come," he says, "when younger men will do our work better, and, if we remain still at the grindstone, we shall be little more than cumberers of the earth. Nay, we may be something worse—miserable spectacles of decay, not even stately ruins. . . . . Let us take our pensions thankfully in good time; let us be content to be superannuated; let us go cheerfully into retirement before people say that we ought to be kicked into it." But then, he afterwards says beautifully—"It is only through the gates of death that we grope our way to the fulness of repose." Sir John's striking lines on the "Battle with Time," probably written "on the eve of a crisis," which fortunately "never came after all," and which might be applied to himself,

* Dr. Guthrie.

follow the remark that "it is not good to be stricken down in the midst of the great battle:"—

"His life was one grand battle with old Time.
From morn to noon, from noon to weary night,
Ever he fought as only strong men fight;
And so he passed out of his golden prime
Into grim hoary manhood; and he knew
No rest from that great conflict till he grew
Feeble and old, ere years could make him so.
Then on a bed of pain he laid his head,
As one sore spent with labour and with woe;
'Rest comes at last.' I thank Thee, God,' he said.
Death came: upon his brow lay chilly hands,
And whispered 'Vanquished!' But he gasped out 'No,
I am the victor now; for unto lands
Where Time's dark shadow cannot fall, I go.'"

Then, reminding us that "death is a fearful thing," and of the immortal lines which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Claudio,* commencing—

"Ay, but to die, and go we know not where,"

the subject of our sketch asks—"Ay, but whither?" and continues:—"It is ill thus to die with the harness on one's back and the battle-axe in one's hand. Better to lay them down ere the dark shadow falls; and, resting as best we may upon earth, pass away into the Perfect Rest."†

* "Measure for Measure."

† "The Essays of an Optimist." By John William Kaye, F.R.S., Author of "History of the War in Afghanistan," "Life of Lord Metcalfe," "History of the Sepoy War," &c., 1870 (pp. 285–7). We cannot leave such a pleasant volume of essays—written with a smack of the graceful style and humour of Addison, and of the common sense of pious Jeremy Taylor—without turning to one, "The Wrong Side of the Stuff," in a note to which Sir John mentions one day, on passing to office, having seen a Commissionnaire, hard by the great palace of Westminster:—"As I neared him, I saw another old soldier approach him—an older soldier, and of a higher rank, with bronzed cheek, and white moustache, and erect carriage, and a noble presence; one whom there was no mistaking, though dressed in the common garb of an English gentleman. When he saw the medals on the Commissionnaire's breast, his face brightened up, and he stopped before the man in green, and, with a pleasant word or two, took up the medals, one after another, in his one hand, and then I saw that he had an empty sleeve. And when I looked at the Commissionnaire, I saw that he also had an empty sleeve. And I

Something is said in the sketch of Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature about Sir John Kaye, and a portion of his writings, so that it may be sufficient to add, that the grand secret of Sir John's success in Anglo-Indian literature—particularly in his histories and biographies—lies in the admirable execution of his work, rather than in the interest attached by the British public to the subject. People who want to know about the War in Afghanistan, or Sir John Malcolm, or Lord Metcalfe, go at once to *the* History and Biographies *par excellence;* or, about the Mutiny, to the History of the Sepoy War. Beyond a doubt, then, during such a lamentable state of indifference to Indian affairs—such an obstinate want of British—and even in some respects Anglo-Indian—interest in an Empire which tends to make England glorious, the treatment of the matter is of the last importance; and on this the success of any book on India that is to live will always greatly depend. You have first to conquer prejudice, and then, if you can, become fascinating. Sir John Kaye, throughout his literary career, has been eminently successful in both these particulars. Such remarks may excuse the introduction here of a reminiscence of that mighty wielder of the English tongue—Lord Macaulay. It was in the month of June, 1850, while Macaulay lived in the Albany, writing his "History of England," that the writer of these pages having, after some labour and historical research, arrived in London with a manuscript work, on "The French in India," submitted the question to the great historian and essayist, Whether he thought the public would care about such a work at such a time? The reply was prompt, exibiting the kindness of Macaulay to young authors. (He had not long before gracefully acknowledged a copy of "Orissa."*) Coming from, perhaps, the most brilliant writer of modern times—one of the chiefs of Modern Criticism—his remarks may be

wished I had been an artist to paint that touching scene." Compare the "older soldier" with a dear departed Anglo-Indian General Officer sketched in these pages!

* A volume of local, archæological, and other critical sketches, reprinted chiefly from the *Calcutta Review.* (London, 1850.)

given :—"It seems to me that the fate of such a volume as you describe must depend entirely on the execution. There is not, I apprehend, much curiosity on the subject of the French in India. But eloquence and vivacity will make any subject attractive. My own pursuits do not leave me time to give to manuscripts that attentive perusal, without which advice is a mere mockery." We may fairly claim Lord Macaulay as a very distinguished Anglo-Indian,* one of whom it is well known that, from the date of his first appearance in the *Edinburgh*, as a reviewer of Milton (August, 1825), down to the day of his death (December 28th, 1859), his literary career was a grand continual success.

Few writers can tell an anecdote so well as Sir John Kaye, and it cannot be denied that this is a most excellent gift in an author who would be entertaining. While lecturing in Central India, on Periodical Literature, we quoted an anecdote which gave great amusement, one of the famous Sir John Malcolm, when a boy, appearing before the mighty Court of Directors in London, to present himself as a cadet, previous to obtaining their consent to proceed to India :—"So mere a child was he (says Mr. Kaye), that on the morning of his departure, when the old nurse was combing his hair, she said to him, "Now, Jock, my mon, be sure when ye are awa', ye kaim your head and keep ye'er face clean; if ye dinna, ye'll just be sent haim again.' 'Tut, woman,' was the answer, "ye're aye sae feared. Ye'll see if I were awa amang strangers, I'll just do weel aneugh.'" And Jock did "weel aneugh" amang strangers. Towards the end of 1781, "John Malcolm was taken to the India

* Thomas Babington Macaulay was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, in the year 1800. His father, Zachary Macaulay, a retired East India merchant, strengthened the hands and helped forward the philanthropic enterprise of Wilberforce. When eighteen years of age, Thomas entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where his career was a brilliant one. He entered Parliament in 1830, under the auspices of Lord Lansdowne, and became Secretary to the Board of Control. About 1834 he became a Member of the Supreme Council of India. In 1838 Mr. Macaulay returned to England with a practical knowledge of Indian affairs; but he is best known to Anglo-Indians as the author of the unrivalled essays on Clive and Warren Hastings.

House, and was, as his uncle anticipated, in a fair way to be rejected, when one of the Directors said to him, "Why, my little man, what would *you* do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?' 'Do, sir!' said the young aspirant, in prompt reply, 'I would out with my sword and cut off his head.' 'You will do,' was the rejoinder, 'let him pass.'" The "Boy, Malcolm," had been brushed up at home to some purpose.

In the review* of Sir John Kaye's work, in which the above anecdote is quoted, some interesting information is given regarding an early part of the career of one whose biography is now better known than that of other highly distinguished Anglo-Indians of days long gone by.

"In February, 1798, Lord Hobart resigned the Government of Madras, and General Harris acted during the interregnum. The Town Majorship of Fort St. George was in those days an office of greater honour and emolument than it is now, and it was regarded as a perquisite of some one of the Governor's suite. It was therefore given by General Harris to his secretary, and Malcolm held it till the arrival of Lord Clive in August. In this year also he attained his captaincy. And in this year Lord Mornington landed at Madras on his way to Calcutta; and Captain Malcolm took the liberty to forward to 'the glorious little man' some of those papers that he had submitted to Lord Hobart, and to solicit that 'when opportunity offered, he might be employed in the diplomatic line of his profession.' And opportunity offered soon: on the 10th September he received a letter from the Governor-General, announcing his appointment to be assistant to the Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, and at the same time requesting to see him as soon as he could possibly present himself at Calcutta."

At this time the Nizam was on friendly terms with the French as well as the English. But the English and French were at war with each other; and, as the reviewer remarks, the Nizam ["Putter in Order"] "had no very special pre-

* *Calcutta Review*, No. 57, September, 1857. It is a sad reflection to think that this review of the great Political was originally assigned to Sir Henry Lawrence.

ference for either of the parties." One of the first acts of Lord Mornington (afterwards the Marquis Wellesley) was to order the disbandment of 11,000 troops in the pay of His Highness, under the command of French officers, and of course only devoted to French interests. Captain Kirkpatrick and his able assistant did the business fearlessly and well. "Had Kirkpatrick," writes the eminent biographer, "wanted resolution—had he hesitated, and faltered, and shown himself to be a man of weak-nerved humanity, slow to resort to extremities—in all probability before the end of October, the French lines would have been running crimson with blood. There is an ill-odour about the *word* 'dragooning,' but there is more real kindness in the *thing* itself than is readily believed."* John Malcolm proceeded with the colours of the disbanded French regiments to Calcutta; and the Calcutta reviewer, while alluding to Mr. Kaye's account of his important advent, thus gives Lord Mornington's idea of "the right man in the right place," which we think as applicable to the selection of politicals and other officials at home as in India, and which feeling no doubt prompted the selection of the subject of this sketch to fill the high post of Political Secretary at the India Office, as well as the appointment of Sir John Kaye's successor:—"In point of fact, the Governor-General, the 'glorious little man,' [since his time we have had another 'glorious little man,' Lord Dalhousie], was one of those few men to whom, being in office, it was of no consequence whether a man were old or not, whether he were a cadet or a colonel, provided he had eyes that could see, a brain that could think, a soul that could feel what was right and what was noble, and a hand that could hold a sword or a pen."

Having alluded to the disbandment of French officers in India, with reference to the all-important matters of Conciliation and Annexation (touched on at the commencement of this sketch), it is natural for one who has long taken an interest in such political acts in the East, to remark how deficient the French in India, during their early struggles, were in the necessary qualities for either. Dupleix could

* Also quoted in the review, p. 167.

found a factory, but not an empire; Count Lally could blow Brahmans from guns, but could not gain for his country any firm footing in Hindustan; and even long after the days of the Marquis Wellesley, French adventurers joined the great Sikh ruler (Runjeet Singh), and eventually one (whom we knew), General D'Orgoni, tried to "manage affairs" at Ava! All—all are now departed, and have left no sign! *

It is the best thing that ever happened for England, that, during the early part of her wonderful career in India, France could neither conciliate nor annex! Great Britain has done both successfully; but the days for annexation are now at an end. The mandate has gone forth—to look well after what we have, to resist aggression, but go no farther; and the more pleasant task of the political secretary in days to come will be to conciliate, chiefly with a view to increase commerce and the general prosperity and happiness of the people. Annexation, in the mind of Sir John Kaye, is not to be tolerated for a moment. Talking to him one day on the subject, and casually bringing forward some excuses, in extreme cases, for the political act, such as the "force of circumstances," the writer incurred his displeasure, and was immediately silenced by "The force of circumstances!" being repeated in a disdainful tone. Regarding the annexation of Pegu—perhaps the best and most righteous annexa-

* Pondicherry and the other French settlements in India do not affect this remark. The French have *no* power in India. It would be well, however, if we could buy them out of it, as we have done the Danes (the last purchase being that of Tranquebar), which (in case of European complications extending to the East) might save us much trouble. Goa, the Portuguese settlement, is another thorn in our side, which it might be wise to purchase. Since this was written the French have settled themselves—or rather unsettled themselves—in the ancient kingdom of Annam (Cochin-China). To his little work, "A Timely Discourse on Burma," with How the Frenchman "sought to win an Empire in the East," the author (1883) added "Notes on the effects of French success in Tonquin on British interests in Burma." Attention is requested to p. 97, where some remarks will be found on the Mongol Conquest of China, and tribute demanded from Burma. There has been some wordy discussion on this subject, with reference to our recent annexation of Upper Burma. In our opinion the old vassalage of Burma to China is *entirely* annulled by our deposition of King Thebaw and conquest of the country, *unaided* or not resisted by China.

tion effected during the last quarter of a century; and even the strongest enemies of the act must admit, that if the Burmese war was a mistake in its commencement it has not been so in the result—it would have been useless to point out to the Political Secretary how valuable the possession of British Burma was to us during the Mutiny; how "the isolation of Burma kept the Court of Ava out of the influences of the mutinies altogether;" how the Bengal Sepoy regiment stationed there found no sympathy from such a different race as the Burmese in the matter of disaffection; how we could spare British troops from the Province at such a time; or how, as is well known, the King sent a donation of £1,000 to relieve the sufferers by the Mutiny.* But, in the opinion of Sir John, Pegu should not have been subjugated. There should be no annexation at all; no aggressive policy under *any* circumstances—only conciliatory. He denounces annexation with the same admirable vigour as Lord Brougham displayed when, in the younger days of his eloquence, advocates of the slave-trade talked to him of "rights" and "property"—"I deny the rights; I acknowledge not the property!" So, on the above occasion, the writer left his room convinced that the Political Secretary held annexation to be another "wild and guilty fantasy." And his views on the subject of *control* in India clearly seemed to be, as already remarked in the sketch of Sir Henry Lawrence—*We may protect and help; but on no account are we to take land not our own*, and put the rents into our own pockets! This is at least a *safe* plan of action, and is, perhaps, the best suited to the present highly civilized times. Long may we be able to carry out Sir John Kaye's conciliatory policy, which he has taken so much pains to establish! As Political Secretary, his courtesy towards native officials who came in contact with him was ever remarkable. He took the utmost pains to avoid, under any circumstances, giving them the slightest cause of offence.

While the Burmese Ambasadors were in London, he did

* *See* article on "Lord Dalhousie" in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1859; and article in *Fraser* for July, 1858, on the "Indian Rebellion;" in which admirable papers this subject is forcibly touched on.

his utmost to give them a good opinion of the courtesy and kindness of the English nation to strangers. He was anxious that nothing should be said or written that would, if it reached the Golden Foot, cause the slightest annoyance to the King of Burma (Oriental princes are more apt and well-informed than we give credit for); so we may truly say, that during his long tenure of office, conciliation and the promotion of goodwill among men formed the guiding stars of his conduct.

In the *East India Register*, from 1856 to 1858, we find Mr. John Stuart Mill—the philosopher whose views have so lately puzzled the reading world—Examiner of India Correspondence. In this department of the Home Establishment there appear also two assistant examiners and three assistants—"Edmund D. Bourdillon, W. T. Thornton, and J. W. Kaye, Esqrs." Colonel William Henry Sykes is at this time Chairman of the Court of Directors. But in 1859, we find in the *Register* that the junior assistant has succeeded his philosophic and experienced chief under the new and more comprehensive title (India having passed to the Crown) of "Secretary, Political and Secret Department." If, as it has been said, it was no common honour for Sir John to have succeeded Mr. John Stuart Mill, we fearlessly assert that it is a still greater honour for Colonel Burne to have been selected to succeed such an able Political Secretary as Sir John Kaye.

In conclusion, the writer of this brief sketch, along with all his friends, wishes him in his retirement health and happiness. Macaulay once said to the electors, talking of resigning and seeking literary repose (pointing to his head)—"This is my stock in trade, gentlemen!" From Sir John's varied and always valuable stock the public are still eagerly expecting some books they have fully calculated on reading; among others, another volume of the "Sepoy War," and a new work, the "Life of Sir James Outram."* It is sincerely to be hoped that such literary treasures will not figure among the "unaccomplished purposes" of our distinguished Anglo-Indian.

* Since written, in two volumes, by Sir Frederic Goldsmid.

SIR JOHN WILLIAM KAYE.

We have much pleasure in re-producing the just and appreciative sketch of Sir John, which appeared in the leading journal, for the benefit of our readers :—

After a service of nearly nineteen years as Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office, combined with literary work of an arduous character, failing health has obliged Sir John William Kaye to seek relaxation from work.

Sir John Kaye manifested at an early period of his life a remarkable taste for writing and talent for composition. He was educated at the Rev. Dr. Radcliffe's, at Salisbury, and many of his old school-fellows to this day talk of his juvenile contributions in prose and verse to a Magazine, in imitation of the *Etonian*, published at the Wiltshire School. By one of those anomalies or chances which so often govern early careers, he was sent to Addiscombe and transformed into a Bengal Artilleryman. His service as a subaltern in that noble corps, far from changing the bent of his mind, formed him into the historian of Indian wars, and inspired him with that regard for the natives of India, and that insight into Indian life and Indian history which have shown themselves in so many of his subsequent writings. Generous in his disposition, and an able writer, young Kaye soon became a favourite in Indian society, and the ruling spirit in the foremost publications of the day. His literary pursuits obliged him, however, to leave the Artillery, and ill-health drove him to England; but not before he had established, almost single-handed, the *Calcutta Review*, to the earlier numbers of which magazine he contributed nearly fifty essays on political, military, and social subjects.

On his return to England Sir John Kaye devoted himself to the "History of the War in Afghanistan," a work which established his reputation as a historian. Of it the late Lord Strangford said, in the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, it was "a work as awful, as simply artistic, and as clear and lofty in its moral as an Æschylian trilogy." Sir John Kaye's next effort was a "History of the Administration of the East India Company," which was largely quoted in Parliament during the debates of 1853. He added to this a "Selection, with Notes, from the Papers of the late Mr. St. George

Tucker," and a "Life of the late Lord Metcalfe," followed by the "Life of Sir John Malcolm." At this period the versatility of his literary labours was somewhat arrested by his appointment to the India House. To have been specially selected by the Court of Directors as Chief of their Political Department, in succession to John Stuart Mill, was no mean honour. But his new official duties were not allowed to obstruct needlessly his literary labours. The Sepoy War found in him its natural historian, and the "Lives of Indian Officers" became known as a text-book for every young Indian subaltern and civilian. Sir John Kaye's contributions to periodicals during this period were constant—quarterly, monthly, weekly, daily. A collection of some of his writings in the *Cornhill Magazine* was published only last year as "Essays of an Optimist." As a tribute, doubtless, to his literary merit, he was, without application and without ballot, made a Fellow of the Royal Society. Sir John Kaye's official services at the India Office, through many changes and vicissitudes, are well known. His career has been spent in assisting to infuse a kindly and statesmanlike spirit into the policy controlling the millions of India. He was created in 1871 a Knight Commander of the Star of India; and for his official and literary services to India the Marquis of Salisbury and the Council of India have given him a liberal provision for his declining years.*

Sir John died on the 24th July, 1876, and, we believe, was buried at Nunhead, near Dulwich. It may be stated in conclusion, that Sir John Kaye was the valued editor of the *Overland Mail* newspaper from its commencement in the year 1855, until the year 1868. The post has since been held by able and distinguished men; and only those acquainted with the subject can know the difficulties of editing a popular Anglo-Indian journal.

* *Times*, October 19, 1874.

COL. SIR OWEN TUDOR BURNE, K.C.S.I.

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Col. Sir Owen Tudor Burne joined the 20th Foot in May, 1855, and served in the latter part of the Crimean campaign. He embarked with the 20th for India in 1857, and served as Brigade-Major to the Oudh Field Force, &c., during the Mutiny campaign, including fifteen actions, and the siege and capture of Lucknow. He was three times mentioned in despatches; and was specially mentioned for his gallant conduct at the above siege, for which he received the rank of Brevet-Major. He served four years as Adjutant of his regiment. In 1861 he was selected by Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn) as Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief. He returned with him to England in 1865, and served on the Staff in Ireland during the Fenian disturbances of 1866–67, for his services during which he was thanked by the Irish Government. Major Burne was selected by Lord Mayo to be his Private Secretary, and left with his Lordship for India in 1868. He held the appointment till that nobleman's assassination at Port Blair on February 8, 1872. On his return to England after this lamentable event, he received the special thanks of the Government of India for the "singular ability, discretion, and zeal," with which his arduous duties as Private Secretary had been discharged. He returned to England in May, 1872, after acting for some months as Private Secretary to Lord Napier and Ettrick, K.T., who became, pro tem., Viceroy and Governor-General, and was nominated a Companion of the Star of India in that year, appointed Political A.D.C. at the India Office in August, 1872, Assistant in the Political and Secret Department in the beginning of 1874, and succeeded Sir John Kaye,

K.C.S.I., as Secretary on the 16th October, 1874, in which appointment he has since continuously served, with the exception of two years special duty (1876–78) as Private Secretary to Lord Lytton, when Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He did not purchase any steps; they were all given to him for distinguished services in the field, except the Lieut.-Colonelcy, which he obtained on the 23rd July, 1874, by seniority in the list of Army Majors. Colonel Burne was appointed a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire on 1st January, 1877, and was created a K.C.S.I. on 29th July, 1879. In the foregoing remarks, we have the recital of a distinguished career; and as the gallant Colonel was only in the prime of life when he took up his appointment (about the same age as Sir John Kaye when he became Political Secretary), he has still a splendid field for action in view; and we have no doubt that time will show he is, in every respect more than ever, "the right man in the right place."

A curious fact is mentioned in Foster's "Royal Lineage of our Noble and Gentle Families," 1885, in regard to Sir Owen Burne's family. Many of the narrative pedigrees in that book show how much of illustrious descent is to be found in families who at the present time by no means occupy prominent positions, and who belong to neither peerage nor baronetage. Sir Owen Burne, for instance, it is stated, is thirty-fourth in descent from Charlemagne, thirty-first from Alfred the Great, and sixteenth from Edward the Third through his four sons.

Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn, Sir Owen Burne's uncle, alluded to in the above sketch, who as General Sir Hugh Rose did so much to suppress the Indian Mutiny "and place English rule in India on a solid basis," died on the 16th October, 1885, at the Hôtel de Rivoli, Paris. His health had been for some time breaking; but he preserved his fine soldierly bearing to the last. His habits of "Spartan simplicity" never forsook him. On seeing Victor Hugo's obsequies, he said, "I hope no fuss will be made about me when I die." He was born in 1803, was educated at Berlin, and entered the Army in 1820. Sir

Owen Burne contributed an article on Lord Strathnairn to the first number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (January, 1886), which new Quarterly, under the able editorship of Mr. Demetrius Boulger, "gives distinct promise of a bright and valuable addition to our information and *criticism* on Eastern subjects."

It may also be interesting to remark, in these days of Ministerial changes, Liberal Unionists, Conservative Liberals, and Liberal Conservatives, although, as before said, India acknowledges no political party—that Sir Owen Burne has served under six Secretaries of State for India, viz., Marquis of Salisbury, Viscount Cranbrook, Marquis of Hartington, Earl of Kimberley, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Sir Richard Cross, since raised to the Peerage as Viscount Cross.

THE PRINSEPS.

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THERE is no more distinguished family connected with India in the present century than that of the Prinseps;* and the sketches now to be given of some of its most prominent members have been drawn from the most authentic sources.

CHARLES ROBERT PRINSEP, LL.D., was the second son of John Prinsep, Merchant and Alderman of the City of London, Bailiff of Southwark, and at one time Member of Parliament for Queenborough. Mr. C. R. Prinsep was born on the 28th March, 1790, and after receiving his early education at Tunbridge Grammar School, he proceeded to Cambridge, and was entered at St. John's College. On leaving Cambridge, he entered the legal profession, and was called to the bar 20th June, 1817. In 1823 Mr. C. R. Prinsep proceeded to India by permission of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, granted 5th November, to practise at the bar at Calcutta, and was admitted to the Supreme Court, 2nd August, 1824, and became Standing Counsel. In 1846 he officiated as Advocate-General and acted as such in 1849. On the 24th November, 1852, he was appointed Advocate-General by the Court of Directors, which position he retained but for a short time, as he came home in 1855, in broken health, and died 8th June, 1864, at Chiswick.

Mr. C. R. Prinsep married, at Calcutta, on the 18th February, 1839, Louisa Ann, daughter of Colonel White,

* The Lushingtons and Mackenzies have also furnished bright ornaments of the Indian Civil Service—names as well known in days gone by as those of the Melvills—James Cosmo and Philip—and Thorntons in the old East India House and India Office.

who died in India, 29th January, 1855, leaving issue three sons and three daughters.

George Alexander Prinsep, born 4th March, 1791, was the third son of John Prinsep. He was educated at home under a private tutor, and at an early age entered a mercantile career, at first in London, afterwards in France, Brazil, Mexico, and Cadiz, at which last place he was residing during the time of its bombardment in the Peninsular War. He subsequently proceeded to Bombay, and there about 1824 received a proposal to join the then celebrated firm of Palmer and Co., at Calcutta, which subsequently came to grief, causing much suffering to himself and his family. After this failure, Mr. George Prinsep started certain salt works at Narainpore, in the Sunderbunds. He was a leading promoter of steam navigation and an editor of a daily paper. He was also very proficient in the French and Spanish languages, in the latter of which he wrote a MS., which was never published, upon the War of Independence in Mexico.

Mr. George Prinsep died in India, 25th March, 1839, having married at Calcutta, 14th November, 1822, Agnes Catherine, daughter of Thomas Blake, Esq., who died 21st April, 1877, leaving an only son surviving.

Henry Thoby Prinsep was the fourth son of John Prinsep. Mr. H. T. Prinsep was born 15th July, 1792, at Thoby Priory (whence he derived his second name), in the parish of Mountnessing, Essex. He was educated at home under a private tutor, and obtaining a nomination to the Bombay Civil Service from Mr. E. Parry, he entered Haileybury College in July, 1807. This nomination was subsequently changed for one to Bengal, granted by the Honourable W. F. Elphinstone, and approved by the Court of Directors on the 8th April, 1808. While at college, Mr. H. T. Prinsep obtained prizes in Mathematics, Political Economy, History, and Law.

Mr. H. T. Prinsep arrived in Bengal on the 20th July, 1809, and having passed through the junior grades of Judicial appointments, became Assistant-Secretary to the Governor-General (Marquis of Hastings), in 1814. In 1820

he was appointed Persian secretary to Government. After his return to India from furlough in 1826, Mr. H. T. Prinsep held several high positions in connection with the Government of Fort William until 1834, when he was appointed Chief Secretary to the Government of India and Bengal, under Lord Auckland. In 1840 he was appointed a member of the Supreme Council of the Governor-General, and retired from service in 1843. In 1850 Mr. H. T. Prinsep was elected a Director of the East India Company, and was chosen in 1858 a member of Council of the Secretary of State for India on the transfer of Indian affairs to the Crown, which position he retained until retirement in 1874. He died 11th February, 1878, at Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight.

On Mr. H. T. Prinsep's return to England he contested the elections of Dover, Barnstaple, Dumbartonshire, and Harwich. He was the author of many historical and other works connected with India, and also translated several Persian poems into the English language.

Mr. H. T. Prinsep married, at Calcutta, on 14th May, 1835, Sara Monckton, daughter of James Pattle, of the Bengal Civil Service, leaving issue three sons and one daughter.

William Prinsep was the sixth son of John Prinsep. He was born 11th August, 1794, in the parish of St. Mary Axe, City of London, and educated at home under a private tutor. At the early age of 11 years he entered the Royal Navy through the influence of Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, who obtained a nomination, and was posted to H.M. frigate, the "Tribune," 36 guns, under Captain Bennet. In 1806 he was transferred to the "Fame," under the same captain. Shortly after, he left the Navy and entered a mercantile career, and subsequently went out to India, where he became a junior partner in the great firm of Palmer and Co., along with his brother George. After the misfortunes of this house, he pursued commercial business by himself and subsqeuently joined the house of Carr, Tagore, and Co. He retired from business and returned to England in 1841, and died 10th Febuary, 1874, at Wonersh, near Guildford.

Mr. W. Prinsep married at Calcutta, 14th October, 1830, Mary, daughter of Robert Campbell, connected with the families of Argyll, London, and Breadalbane. She died 11th May, 1873, at Wonersh, leaving five sons and two daughters surviving.

JAMES PRINSEP.

James Prinsep, born 20th August, 1799, was the seventh son of John Prinsep. At a very early date, Mr. James Prinsep showed great talent for drawing, with wonderful neatness and delicacy of touch in design and finish. He was also particularly fond of music, and exhibited great taste for the science of chemistry. Before he was 20 years of age he was apprenticed to Mr. Bingley of the English Mint, and in 1819 proceeded to India, on being appointed by the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company, assistant Assay Master to the Mint at Calcutta. In the following year he was sent as Assay Master to the Mint at Benares. During his residence at Benares he rendered considerable service, as an artist and an engineer, towards the improvement of the City in sanitary measures, and also added to the beauty of its architectural buildings.

For several years after his arrival, Mr. James Prinsep was distinguished for his scientific attainments, knowledge of chemistry, mineralogy, meteorology, and other branches of experimental philosophy, on which subjects he was the author of many valuable contributions to the periodical publications of Calcutta, to Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and to the Transactions of the Bengal Society in India.

On completion of the Calcutta Mint in 1830, that of Benares was abolished, and Mr. James Prinsep returned to the Presidency, where two years after he succeeded Mr. H. H. Wilson as Assay Master at Calcutta, which post he held till compelled to leave India, by the breaking down of his health and constitution.

During the latter part of his career Mr. James Prinsep's attention was chiefly directed to Inscriptions and Numismatics, in regard to which he made some very important

discoveries by decyphering obsolete and unknown characters, which led to the formation of an alphabet, by which the legend on the reverse side of Bactrian coins, ancient Surat coins, and on the coins of the Hindu Princes of Lahore and their Mahomedan successors, have been readily perused. Further successes attended his efforts in decyphering inscriptions on monuments and temples in different parts of India, which have assigned to Mr. James Prinsep the credit of discovering the names of Antiochus and Ptolemy upon the rocks of Cuttack and Guzerat, which proved the intercourse between India and Persia, and also with Egypt.

In addition to his official duties which were constant and laborious, Mr. James Prinsep was also Secretary to the Mint Committee, and to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and besides being a Member of the Education Committee, he was also an active member of every Committee formed by Government for scientific purposes. He was also the unassisted Editor of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, a monthly issue of between 80 and 100 pages, and himself designed and even engraved many of the plates of coins and antiquities which illustrated the numbers.

Mr. James Prinsep's private character and disposition were no less to be admired than his intellectual powers. Possessed of an unfailing elasticity and buoyancy of spirit, of a kind and gentle nature, he was ever ready to take part in cultivated recreation, whether in music or the drama, and in promoting all liberal public undertakings without pretension, or displaying even the virtues of a benefactor and a friend.

Mr. James Prinsep married at Calcutta on 25th April, 1835, Harriet Sophia, daughter of Major-General Aubert of the East India Company's Bengal Army, and died at the residence of his brother-in-law (Mr. George Haldimand), 31, Belgrave Square, on 22nd April, 1840, at the early age of 40, leaving issue an only daughter. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a Member of the French Institute, a Member of the Berlin Royal Academy, Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c. &c.

On the announcement in India of the death of Mr. James

Prinsep, a meeting was held at Calcutta on the 30th July, 1840, at which assembled a considerable number of the leading residents in every branch of the Public service, and a great number of Europeans and natives of all classes, when it was resolved that the memory of Mr. James Prinsep should be perpetuated by the erection of a magnificent Ghaut between Fort William and Baboo Ghaut, to be called after him.

It was also proposed that a medal bearing his effigy and name should be struck, and that a bust in marble be placed in the rooms of the Asiatic Society. The subscriptions for the memorial amounted to between 30,000 and 40,000 rupees, which was gathered from all parts of India.

To James Prinsep the concluding lines by the famous Duchess of Devonshire, written in honour of Sir William Jones, towards the close of the last century, may be justly applied. Of Sir William, the beautiful and accomplished duchess first writes:—

"Unbounded learning, thoughts by genius framed
To guide the bounteous labours of his pen,
Distinguished him whom kindred sages named
'The most enlightened of the sons of men.'"

This is immediately followed up by what is so characteristic in the brilliant career of the distinguished Anglo-Indian just sketched in these pages:—

"Admired and valued in a distant land,
His gentle manners all affection won;
The prostrate Hindu owned his fostering hand,
And Science marked him as her favourite son."

Upwards of thirty years have elapsed, since the present writer first beheld the bust of James Prinsep in Calcutta; and the impression it created on his mind is thus described in a brief narrative of a trip from Rangoon to the Blue Mountains:—"By every Artillery Officer, Dum-Dum and Cossipore—the former the old Artillery Station, and the latter the Gun Foundry—should, if possible, be honoured with a visit; and, if a lover of science, the traveller should certainly proceed to the noble mansion of the Asiatic Society, before leaving Calcutta. The prophecy of Sir William

Jones—the motto of their journal—has been tolerably well fulfilled: 'The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia: and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man, or produced by nature.'* In the grand room you will behold busts of Sir W. Jones, Colebroke, Horace Wilson, James Prinsep, the greatest lights of our Oriental literature. There is something noble about the look of Prinsep—the face beaming with intelligence; and, on looking over his life, we regret to learn that 'Science self destroyed her favourite son!'"—one possessing, as Moore said of Sheridan, but in an Asiatic sense—"the best and the finest of other men's powers." According to the wisest of men, "much study is weariness of the flesh;" and we are almost led to think that Solomon in this remark foreshadows the appearance in distant ages of the world of such earnest students in the cause of Asiatic Research and general knowledge—men of such high mental calibre, and so many virtues, as Sir William Jones, and James Prinsep.

Augustus Prinsep, born 31st March, 1803, in the parish of St. Peter's, Cornhill, in the City of London, was the ninth son and youngest child of John Prinsep.

He was educated at home under a private tutor, and on receiving a nomination to the Bengal Civil Service from Mr. John Thornhill, Director of the E. I. Company, he entered Haileybury in July, 1819, and passed out of college third in rank for Bengal with prizes for Hindustani, Bengalli, and English Composition, besides receiving a medal for Law, and being marked as highly distinguished.

Mr. Augustus Prinsep arrived at Calcutta the 22nd

* Sir W. Jones, the most amiable and distinguished Anglo-Indian of the last century, embarked for India in the *Crocodile* frigate, which left England in April, 1783, and he died in Calcutta on the eve of returning home, 27th of April, 1794. Every part of Asia may be said to have contributed to the museum of the Asiatic Society, and if there was in 1855 nothing new in gazing on the hand of an Egyptian woman three thousand years old, there was useful amusement in beholding the specimens of birds and beasts from Burma and elsewhere, with Mr. Blyth, the indefatigable naturalist, to consult whenever there was a difficulty.

July, 1822, and was first sent to Tirhoot as Assistant Magistrate and Collector; in the year following he was appointed Registrar and Assistant to the Magistrate at Agra. In 1825, he was invested with full powers in all summary suits and appeals. In 1827, he became Commissioner of Pergunna Palamoo.

Mr. A. Prinsep died the 10th October, 1830, after a short service of eight years, while at sea, whither he had proceeded on board the "Duke of Lancaster," for the benefit of his health; and thus a brilliant career was brought to an untimely end, for his brothers had always remarked that if he had lived his abilities would have been equal to, if not greater than, those of James Prinsep of scientific reputation.

Mr. A. Prinsep wrote several Essays and Reports on Indian Law, and a Review by him of Zemindari Affairs at that time was held in high estimation, considering his youth and the rapidity with which he obtained his knowledge in so short an experience.

Mr. A. Prinsep married, at Calcutta, on the 6th June, 1828, Elizabeth Ackworth, daughter of Admiral Sir Francis Ommaney, R.N., leaving issue an only daughter.

Having now sketched the careers of six members of a really distinguished Anglo-Indian family, the pleasing duty remains of turning to one who has served in the India Office, London, for thirty-six years—the son of William Prinsep—Charles Campbell. This able and zealous member of the Home Civil service may almost be styled an Anglo-Indian, not only on account of the great names with which he is associated, but from the fact of his having been born in India, whence he sailed with his promising uncle, Augustus, for England. After doing a vast quantity of useful, but too often dry and uninteresting, work in the way of Statistics and Records, he appeared early in 1885, as the author of a most important book, or, to use his own words, a work "compiled and edited from records in the possession of the Secretary of State for India." The title page is a full one; but its contents may be quoted to show what laborious research was required to prepare such a long-desired volume;—"Record of Services of the Honourable East

Company's Civil Servants in the Madras Presidency, from 1741 to 1858. Including Chronological Lists of Governors, Commanders-in-Chief, Chief Justices and Judges, of the Madras Presidency, between 1652 and 1858. As well as Lists of the Directors of the East India Company, Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen of the Direction; and Presidents of the Board of Control. . . . .By Charles C. Prinsep, Statistical Reporter, and late Superintendant of Records, India Office."—From the following remarks, to be found in the preface, the fluent, yet business-like style of the author becomes at once apparent:—

"The first English Company for the purpose of trading with India was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth on the 31st December, 1599, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.'

Courten's Association, the Assada Merchants, established in 1635, united with the London Company in 1650.

The 'Merchant Adventurers,' chartered in 1654-55, united with the London Company in 1656-57. The 'English Company,' (or 'the General Society') trading to the East Indies was incorporated in 1698. The aforesaid Company of Merchants of London, and the English Company, were finally incorporated under the title of the 'United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies,' in 1708, and thus was founded the East India Company, which title it maintained until 1858 (an unbroken period of 150 years), when the transfer of Indian Affairs to the Crown was effected." The book was well received by the Press; and the names and services of many distinguished Anglo-Indians of the historically famous Madras Presidency—where the French first crossed bayonets with British Sepoys—where Clive, "the merchant's clerk,"* but afterwards the daring Ensign and Captain, achieved undying renown by brilliant successes at Arcot and numerous other places, which led on to conquest at the battle of Plassey, which may be said to have laid "the Englishman's much

* Lord Brougham styles Clive "the merchant's clerk who raised himself to celebrity." In the opinion of the great William Pitt, he was "the heaven-

loved India" at his feet, and was the beginning of the Empire which the great Bengal Civilian, Warren Hastings, eventually consolidated—were for the first time published to the reading world, as if to form an illustrious harbinger of the highly popular Indian and Colonial Exibition in London of 1886.—As among the various courts, that of India may be safely said to have created the greatest interest, at this stage it may amuse to give a few gossipy remarks about India in the olden time. For this information it may be well to recur to the writer's "Trip" in 1855, already quoted in the sketch of the illustrious James Prinsep :—

Turn which way you will in Calcutta, you will probably find a spot with some historic interest attached to it. Nearly every Ghât, has its story—among others Chandpal Ghât, where the supposed author of *Junius* landed in 1774, and became annoyed at Warren Hastings not saluting him with the requisite number of guns, for which the rather vindictive "Junius"* probably never forgave the great statesman, the first Governor-General;† and Police Ghât, now adorned by the Metcalfe Hall, where in ancient time, before the capture of Calcutta, stood the house and grounds of the President with his salary of 300 rupees a month; yet, from the profits of private trade, living in a state of

born general"; and Lord Macaulay, in his splendid essay on Lord Clive, says :—"The only man, as far as we recollect, who at an equally early age ever gave equal proof of talents for war, was Napoleon Bonaparte." It is not generally known that young Clive came out to Fort St. George as a civilian, and that his warlike career commenced by throwing an inkstand at a brother writer's head.

* The severe epigram by Warren Hastings on his colleague, Sir Philip Francis, at once gives some insight into the character of the supposed author of "Junius." The mighty Warren, "in slippers," wrote on one occasion :—

"A serpent bit Francis, that turbulent knight—
What then? 'Twas the serpent that died of the bite!"

In the well-known printing-house of Messrs. Woodfall and Kinder, Milford Lane, Strand, can be seen at the present day the very chair in which the supposed *Junius* is said to have sat—probably while conversing with Mr. Woodfall, the original printer of the *Public Advertiser* (1769), and the first public reporter.

† Appointed in 1773.

great luxury, and managing with some of his subordinates to ride about in a coach and six, and to sit down to dinner with a band of music. Looking back a century ago, we have a picture of the President with his Council, the junior merchant factors and writers following in their train—the latter having been engaged during the day in weighing saltpetre, sorting calico, or appraising cloth—all invited to a formal party. The younger members are wandering about the garden of the President's house (where Bankshall now stands), the garden which is said to have extended from the river to Tank Square; and, like the President and his Council, their chief talk is about the business of the factory—how to make the largest sum of money in the least possible time. The President's house is without venetians, without glass windows, without punkahs; there are none of the very few ladies in the settlement to grace the feast, and the party is as dull as it can possibly be. Even the small territory under British jurisdiction—some three miles in length by one or two in breadth—is not secure. A century passes away, and one of the most remarkable changes in history has taken place. The East India Company rules over an empire two thousand miles square. Calcutta is the suitable metropolis for such an empire. Government House, and numerous other public buildings, with the elegant private mansions of Chowringhee and elsewhere please the eye of the traveller, as well as the brilliant society which he beholds dashing along the noble Strand of an evening; and, after an airing in their handsome carriages, this same society, in 1855, has its literature, its scandal, its science, its fashions, the trip in the railway, the message by the electric telegraph, all to carry on the stream of conversation; and the inhabitants proceed, as they might do in London or Paris, to hear a sweet Irish songstress (Catherine Hayes) sing, or to listen with deep interest to the eloquence of Bellew, while he delivered a lecture on Nineveh, or taught his hearers how to run "with patience" the eternally important "Race of Life!"

Reviewing Mr. Prinsep's "Record of Services," a London critic hits the right nail on the head when he says:—"A

work of this nature needs no apology, unless it be on the part of the public, who, ready as they are to consult works of reference, seldom give to the compiler that meed of praise which is due to laborious research and careful perusal of masses of documents and papers." A famous poet has a telling line, suitable to the experiences of official life as well as to other matters :—

"He best can paint them who has felt them most :"

And anyone who has, during his career, had to do with the compiling of Indian records, will admit that Mr. Prinsep has done his work faithfully and well. The hope is entertained that "Records of Services" of Bengal and Bombay Civilians may soon be given to the public by the same author; thereby forming a record of the splendid Civil Service of India, unparalleled, or, it may be said, the like of which has never before existed in this style of literature. It is impossible to wade through the Bengal registers which tell the tale of the fearful Mutiny of 1857, and not think of the devotion and gallantry of those Civil servants of the glorious old Company who, with such a chivalrous and high-souled heroism, faced the murderous rebels in the defence of life and home, and fell dying, like our bravest and best soldiers. —"Killed by the Mutineers at Delhi;" "Killed by the Mutineers at Lucknow," are entries which at once take us back to the day of "India's severest trial." And such must form, to no smalla mount, the shadows of the picture, with the lights produced by a vast quantity of varied, useful, and interesting information in the Bengal volume, we trust yet to come.

SIR BARTLE FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

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From the following strictly correct statement of the services of this highly distinguished Anglo-Indian, a good idea of his career may be formed; and few will venture to deny that it was in many respects a brilliant one. Whatever he did, the *hoc age*, the do it with all thy might principle, was strong in Sir Bartle as, doubtless, his future biographer will fully exhibit to the world.

Frere, Sir Henry Bartle Edward, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I. 1833, Writer; 1835, Assistant to Principal Collector of Poona, and afterwards Assistant to Revenue Commissioner of Bombay; 1839, Deputy Registrar to Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdarry Adawlut; 1840, Assistant to Revenue Commissioner of Bombay; 1842, Private Secretary to the Governor (Sir George Arthur); 1845, proceeded on furlough; 1847, returned to India: First Assistant to Collector and Magistrate of Sholapore; 1848, Resident at Sattara; 1849, Commissioner of Satara; 1850, Chief Commissioner of Sindh; 1859, made a K.C.B., May 20, and appointed on December 21 a Member of Council of the Governor-General of India; 1862, appointed, April 24, Governor of Bombay and elected Chancellor of the Bombay University (became an annuitant on the Fund in 1862); 1866 made a G.C.S.I., February 12, and appointed, November 12, a Member of Council of the Secretary of State for India; 1867, left Bombay, March 6, to take his seat in Council at home; 1872 appointed, November 7, by H.M's Government, Special Commissioner to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat; 1873, returned to England, June 12, and sworn a Privy Councillor August 4; 1874, made an LL.D. of Cambridge, June 16; 1875–76, accompanied H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on his

Indian tour, and made a G.C.B., May 17, and created a Baronet May 19, 1876. In 1877, appointed, March 5, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope, and Lord High Commissioner for South Africa.*

Died May 29, 1884, at Wimbledon, Surrey.

To *The Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (January, 1886), Miss Mary E. J. Frere contributed an obituary notice of her father, Sir Bartle Frere, as "a very slight sketch of a great and historical Englishman." Of this, observes an acute but kindly disposed critic, "nearly five pages, with copious notes, are devoted to the Frere family tree, and two more to that of his mother; then more than six pages are occupied with a description of his father and mother, which is very pretty, but for an obituary notice rather tantalising when we are anxious to hear about the man, and life is short. But we are not disposed to be critical when filial love directs the pen. There are some very interesting records of his school days and of Haileybury College, and with these the sketch concludes. There is enough in it, however, to whet the appetite for more. As Miss Frere says, 'His Life remains to be written';† and we fully agree with her, that 'until the impartial page of history be completely unfolded, it is impossible for his countrymen to be fully conversant of the measure, or to duly estimate the facts, of his heroic life.' It is hardly possible that justice could be done to it by this generation, but Miss Frere's sketch shows how early Bartle Frere developed those qualities which make his one of the remarkable figures of British history in the nineteenth century."—This allusion to early devotion to useful work reminds one of the lines from Shakspeare on the pedestal of the statue erected in honour of the great Royal Engineer Field-Marshal, Sir John Burgoyne; for it may be truly said of our distinguished Anglo-Indian:—

> "How youngly he began to serve his country—
> How long continued!"

* At the end of October, 1886, we have news which would have greatly interested Sir Bartle, viz., a proposed annexation of Zululand, and a remonstrance from Natal.

† It is said that Miss Frere is engaged in the truly filial and noble task.

Sir Bartle Frere was of a prepossessing appearance, and blessed with a decidedly genial manner. If possible, he never liked to refuse anyone a favour; and this kind feature in his character, when he reigned at Bombay Castle, procured for the seat of the Governor the sobriquet of the "Land of Promise." On one occasion, in the India Office, while the present writer was consulting the ever acute Member of Council, he dismissed "the gunner," as he styled him, with the hope of assistance in gaining his end; and, doubtless, Sir Bartle would have given the required assistance, had he not then been about to enter the arena of political action and political strife, in which, beyond all question, he was a genuine hero.—With public men in general, more appointments, or assistance, must ever be promised, or say half-promised, than given; and, to a Governor, in India particularly, the applications are very numerous. The little drama, from the "Vanity of Human Wishes," is being played every day, wherever we may be, in this chequered life of ours:—

> "Unnumber'd suppliants crowd Preferment's gate,
> Athirst for wealth and burning to be great;
> Delusive Fortune hears th' incessant call,
> They mount, they shine, evaporate, and fall."

Even in this new competitive age, it will be well if we find men in the Indian Civil Service who are so much entitled to preferment as was Sir Bartle Frere; and, doubtless, for ages to come, Bombay civilians will revere his memory as a bright example of energy and excellence in the public service. Sir Bartle's honoured remains were interred in St. Paul's Cathedral; a fitting resting-place for our distinguished Anglo-Indian.* A statue for the Thames Embankment is in preparation by Mr. Brock, who executed that of Sir Richard Temple, which is now in Bombay.

* Up to the moment of going to press, the Author expected some special particulars of Sir Bartle's career, but he has been disappointed.

SIR HENRY ANDERSON, K.C.S.I.

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The services of this distinguished Bombay civilian are recorded in the usual concise manner, and are here reproduced, there being, as is the case with many other worthy Anglo-Indians, only this "round unvarnished tale" to deliver:—

Anderson, Sir Henry Lacon, K.C.S.I.—1840, appointed Writer; 1841, Assistant Collector and Magistrate of Poona; 1843, Second Assistant to the same at Surat; 1844, Assistant to Political Agent in Southern Mahratta Country; 1851, Political Superintendent in Sawunt-Warree; 1854, Judge and Sessions Judge of Khandesh; 1855, Secretary to Government of Bombay, in Secret, Political, and Judicial departments; 1861, Chief Secretary to Government and Secretary in departments as before; 1865, resigned the service, 14th May, in India, and became an annuitant on the fund; 1866, appointed, 1st February, Secretary in judicial department, of Secretary of State's Office in England; 1867, made a K.C.S.I.; and died 7th of April, 1879, in London.

Sir Henry Anderson's connection with *The Bombay Quarterly Review*, is alluded to in the "Notes" at the conclusion of the sketch of *Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature*. He possessed literary merit of no common order, and was among the first kind patrons of the present work in its original form. Like Sir Bartle Frere, his appearance was prepossessing, and his manner genial; and his sudden death was lamented by "troops of friends."

Having thus briefly noted the career of another distinguished member of the Western Presidency, it may here be of interest to remark that the Civil Service of Bombay, though perhaps not so well known to the public as that of Bengal and

Madras, nevertheless, stands forth as achieving great eminence in the history of our Indian Empire.

Trade and the results of what *Elia* (Charles Lamb, of old East India House celebrity) styles "the quick pulse of gain" are probably better known at home in connection with the Western Presidency, and its ever busy capital, than with either of the others. Still, the Presidency which produced such Civil servants as Blane, Goldsmid (both great in revenue matters), Sir Bartle Frere, and others less distinguished among the sons of men in the East, must ever secure attentive admiration.

English history has also an especial episode in our possession of the island of Bombay, which, as "every school-boy knows," and a great many grown-up people do not know, Charles II. had received, in 1622, as part of the portion of the Infanta of Portugal, and which King William III. gave over to the East India Company in 1688.

SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B.

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It has for many years been the good fortune of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India to have in his Council men of high and varied talents, thus forming an administrative band for a great Empire, the like of which no other nation in the world can produce. Law, literature, Eastern politics, finance, engineering, military affairs, commerce and statistics, have always their able representatives in this select conclave; and the real good which results from their labours or deliberations is little known to the world. Since our first eleven "sketches" appeared, the highly esteemed and learned Sir Erskine Perry (a former Chief Justice of Bombay) has passed away; but law has still its bright ornament in Sir Henry Maine. In literature and great experience in Indian administration, Sir William Muir has recently left the Council, but the vacancy is well filled up; and the same may be said, in commercial knowledge, of the late excellent Mr. Andrew Cassells, of whom an obituary notice appears in these pages. The brothers Strachey are great names, and have served India well. But there are some men still adorning the Council, whose places, should they leave it, can never be filled up; and Sir Henry Rawlinson is either the foremost, or one of the very foremost of these. It is to his extraordinary and brilliant career* we now beg the attention of our readers. Some remarks on a subject which he has made his own, the Eastern Question, are given; for they may be useful and interesting at the present time:—

Henry Creswicke Rawlinson was born on April the 11th,

* The original of this Sketch appeared in that admirable periodical, *The Leisure Hour*, for August, 1877. It has been thoroughly revised and corrected, a few important additions made, and brought down to the present time.

1810, at Chadlington, in the county of Oxon. He was the second son of Abram Tyzack and Eliza Eudocia Albinia Rawlinson. The Rawlinson family can be traced back without any uncertainty to the reign of Henry VII., when it held lands, and sometimes important offices, in Furness, or the part of Lancashire to the North of Moorcambe Bay, bordering upon the Lake Country. A tradition, reported by Burke and others, says that a century before this two Rawlinsons, Walter and Henry, fought at Agincourt. Henry Rawlinson, the grandfather of Sir Henry, was M.P. for Liverpool towards the latter part of the last century, and his first cousin, Abram Rawlinson, of Ellel, was at the same time M.P. for Lancaster. Henry resided at Grassyard Hall, near Lancaster, and married Martha Tyzack, the heiress and only child of Peregrine Tyzack, Esq., of Newcastle. He (Henry) was born and brought up a member of the Society of Friends, but conformed to the Church of England after he attained to manhood; and his twin sons, Abram and Lindow, were consequently baptized in infancy. He died of consumption in 1786, at the early age of forty-three. Both boys were educated at Rugby school, from whence they went as gentlemen-commoners to Christ Church in 1795. Abram, who succeeded to his father's Lancashire estate, parted with his ancestral property early in life, and purchased with the proceeds a good estate in the parish of Chadlington, Oxfordshire, where the subject of the present memoir was born. Henry Creswicke received his second name after his mother, who was a Miss Creswicke, and belonged to a good family in Gloucestershire. At the age of eleven he was sent from his home in Oxfordshire to a preliminary school, kept by the Rev. Mr. Davies, at Wrington, in the county of Somerset, where his maternal grandmother was residing. Here he remained for two years, after which he passed three years at an excellent private school, presided over by the Rev. Dr. Nicolas, at Ealing, near London, a school which had the honour of educating, besides himself and his brother Canon Rawlinson, the two Newmans, Frank and John Henry, Sir George Burrows, M.D., Mr. Wornum, author of a "History of Painting," the Lord Byron who came next in

succession to the poet, Sir Robert Sale, Lord Macdonald and his brother "Jem," well-known in London, the Right Honourable A. S. Ayrton, and several other eminent persons. Here he laid a solid foundation for his later acquirements by the study of the two classical languages, in which his progress was so rapid that at the age of sixteen, he had reached the head of a school numbering above three hundred boys. About this time he was nominated, through the interest of his half-uncle, Mr. John Hinde Pelly (Sir Lewis Pelly's father) to an infantry cadetship, and after a short preparation at a private establishment at Blackheath, where he was taught the Oriental languages, mathematics and surveying, he was sent out to India as an officer in the Company's service in the year 1827. The overland route not having been at that time even heard of, he proceeded to India in a sailing vessel, which made a fair passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and brought him to Bombay in about four months from the time of his quitting England. Among other passengers by the same vessel was the well-known Eastern scholar and diplomatist, Sir John Malcolm, who had been nominated to the Governorship of Bombay, and was about to take up the duties of his office. The acquaintance which thus arose between the mature "Historian of Persia" and the young subaltern had lasting consequences, since it was from this chance meeting with a great Orientalist that Henry Rawlinson derived that taste for Eastern studies which never afterwards left him. Within a few months of his arrival in India, Mr. Rawlinson passed with credit an examination in the Hindustani language and joined the First Bombay Grenadiers as ensign and interpreter, at Ahmedabad in Guzerat, in June 1828. Subsequently he served for two years with his regiment at Bombay, and for three years at Poonah, and was appointed quartermaster and paymaster to the corps within eighteen months of his arrival in the country, having exhibited his extraordinary talent for languages by passing in the same short period examinations in the Mahratta and Persian tongues. Henry Rawlinson inherited a passion for field sports from his father, who in the early part of the century

was often eulogized by "Nimrod" as an accomplished "Rider to Hounds," and who was afterwards better known in the sporting world as the owner of Coronation, the winner of the Derby in 1841, having bred and trained this famous horse in his own stable at Chadlington. Following in his father's footsteps the subject of this memoir became early celebrated in India for his exploits in the field, and is still remembered at Bombay as the hero of a very remarkable ride, having in April, 1832, covered the distance from Poonah to Panwell, over seventy miles, in three hours seventeen minutes, riding a set of very indifferent horses and along a bad road thronged with pack-bullocks and zig-zagging down the steep slope of the Bhore Ghaut. It was indeed always a matter of surprise among Mr. Rawlinson's companions in India, how he managed to combine his serious studies, which from Mahratta and Persian had now ascended to Sanscrit and Arabic, with the hunting and shooting, and other manly amusements, which seemed to form his chief occupation. The accidental circumstances which determined his career, and converted an enthusiastic sportsman and smart Company's officer into a good civil administrator and a first-rate Orientalist were now approaching. Lord W. Bentinck, Governor-General of India, being instructed from home to strengthen Persia, which was then becoming a factor of some consequence in the Eastern question, determined in the year 1833, to despatch to Teheran a small body of Company's officers, who were to reorganise and discipline the Persian troops, so as to restore them to that state of efficiency which they enjoyed under their former commanders, Christie, Lindsay, and Hart. Out of the entire number of appointments, two were placed at the disposal of Lord Clare, who had succeeded Sir John Malcolm in the governorship of Bombay. Lord Clare had no private knowledge of Ensign Rawlinson, but understanding that he was a good officer, and that his knowledge of the Persian language was considerable, he selected him to fill one of the two appointments in question. Ensign Rawlinson started for Persia in November, 1833, as staff officer of Colonel Passmore's detachment, and continued in that

country till 1839. His duties at this time were various and complicated. He acted at first as staff officer to the British detachment, and as instructor to a regiment of Azerbijân infantry; subsequently he accompanied the Shah on several of his journeys and expeditions; later on he was sent to organize the military forces of the province of Kermanshah, and was entrusted by the Prince Governor with important civil functions; he made various journeys at this time into remote and little known portions of the Persian Empire, and accumulated a rich store of geographical information. For a time, during the absence of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) McNeill, at Herat, he carried on the current business of the British Embassy at Teheran, and was thus initiated into the mysteries of diplomacy. At the same time he began his career as an author. In 1837 he wrote an account of one of his journeys into Susiana and Elymais, which was communicated to the Royal Geographical Society by Lord Palmerston in the autumn of that year, and was published in the Society's Journal soon afterwards. Two years later, at Baghdad, he wrote a memoir on the Atropatenian Ecbatana for the same periodical, which was published in 1840, and gained for the writer the gold medal of the Geographical Society. He also commenced in 1835 his studies in that department of antiquarian research with which his name will always be most especially connected—the cuneiform inscriptions—carefully copying a portion of the famous rock tablets of Behistun, and devoting most of his leisure hours to efforts after their decypherment, which before very long were crowned with success. The exact place which Sir Henry Rawlinson holds as an original decypherer and discoverer in this field, it is perhaps as yet too soon to determine; but the unanimous voice at once of Continental and of English Orientalists assigns him an important share in the analysis by which the secret was penetrated, and the writings of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, were rendered accessible to the world at large. His discoveries were communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1837–39 and were published in the *Athenæum* in 1840 and it adds greatly to the credit which is due him for these discoveries that they were

effected with a very limited help from books, and were thus the result of his almost unaided genius. The work in which his discoveries were put forth in a connected form, was a volume—published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1845—which was however prepared for publication in 1839 and commenced as early as 1835. This work is far from being superseded by the publications of Lassen and Spiegel, or any subsequent writer, and will be found by the linguistic student, a mine from which he may dig, without ever exhausting its ores of inestimable value. In the year 1838, complications arose with Persia, and it was determined to withdraw the British contingent. Henry Rawlinson—who had been granted the commission of Major in Persia—was offered by Mr. McNeill a recommendation to the Governor-General to be employed with the force which was at that time being prepared for the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. But he had formed an unfavourable opinion of the prospects of the expedition—he was devoted to his Persian studies—and he therefore begged to be allowed to remain, as near as circumstances allowed, to the scene of his literary labour. In accordance with his request, he was sent with the British detachment to Baghdad, and remained there till the autumn of 1839, engaged in his learned labours. The complications with Persia having ended in a complete rupture, the British detachment was recalled to India in the autumn of 1839. Major Rawlinson applied to Lord Auckland for permission to remain behind in a subordinate diplomatic employment, hoping, if his request were granted, to be able to prosecute with advantage his cuneiform researches; but the Governor-General, having no sympathy with the new study, turned a deaf ear to his application; and after six years of patient labour, the zealous inquirer was forced for a time to relinquish literature and resume the more regular work of his profession in India. Lord Auckland placed his services at the disposal of the envoy to Cabul, in order that his knowledge of the Persian language and his experience of Oriental character might be turned to account in the management of the newly-occupied Afghanistan. Major Rawlinson accordingly travelled

through Scinde to Candahar in the spring of 1839, and was thence immediately summoned to Cabul, and nominated to proceed with the lamented Arthur Conolly on a mission to the Uzbeg States of Khiva, Kokand, and Bokhara. Before, however, the preparations for this journey were completed—a journey from which it is hardly likely that he would have ever returned—an insurrection broke out in the Ghilzie country, and the envoy, ascribing this outbreak to mismanagement, and being further dissatisfied with the general condition of affairs in Western Afghanistan, resolved to remove the political agent in that quarter, and to appoint Major Rawlinson in his place. The elevation of so young an officer—one not yet thirty years of age, and still a subaltern in his regiment—to the second post in Afghanistan, naturally produced considerable dissatisfaction and heart-burning; but the promotion was certainly not the result of favouritism, since Major Rawlinson had no interest whatever, either with the Governor-General or with the envoy (Sir William Macnaghten), and could only have been advanced on account of his supposed merits. His career at Candahar is generally allowed to have justified the envoy's choice. From the first he took an independent and, to some extent, a gloomy view of the position, detecting the falseness of the Afghans and their probable intention to rise and make an effort to throw off our yoke. Mixing with all classes, and well acquainted with the language and with Oriental habits and modes of thought, he was better able than his contemporaries to gauge the general state of feeling in the country, and there can be no doubt that he was among the first to take alarm, and to point out, both at Cabul and Calcutta, the dangers of the situation.

Due justice has been done him on this head by Mr. Kaye, in his "History of the War in Afghanistan," who regards his political services before and during the insurrection as of the highest value. Major Rawlinson was at this time practically the governor of a country larger than many a European state—one extending from Herat on the west, to Ghuzni on the east, and from the mountain range of the Paropamisus to the frontiers of Scinde. Though nominally subordinate to the Envoy at Cabul, he had to act in the

main on his own responsibility, and the labours of his office were such that, as we happen to know, his daily official work frequently occupied him for eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. When the insurrection broke out at Cabul, and the disasters commenced, Candahar could not fail to be agitated; but Major Rawlinson's happy management succeeded in maintaining command of the town during the whole period of the troubles, and in confining armed resistance to our rule to the surrounding country. [Among other precautions he disarmed the entire population, and subsequently expelled the Afghans from the city, retaining only the Parsiwáns and Tajiks, on whose loyalty he could rely, within the walls. This saved the city on the occasion of the night attacks.] The town was threatened from time to time. On one occasion, by a well planned artifice, and during the absence of the greater part of the garrison under General Nott, one of the main gates was burnt, and a desperate attempt made to effect an entrance through the gateway; but the preparations made for defence proved sufficient. A concentrated fire of artillery and musketry upon the entrance prevented a single Afghan fron penetrating into the city, and the attack was thus repulsed with prompt decision. On another occasion the tribes gathered in unusual force before the place, and seemed to threaten a general assault upon the walls. Hereupon General Nott, the commandant, determined to make a sally in force and drive the enemy off. This was successfully effected on May 29, 1842, in the battle of Candahar, a hotly contested engagement, in which the British troops, with some Parsiwán and Persian allies, were completely victorious over the Afghans. Major Rawlinson on this occasion distinguished himself at the head of a small body of Persian horse, led by the famous Agha Khan—afterwards so well known in Bombay—which he had himself organised, and he was highly commended in General Nott's despatches containing an account of the battle. This repulse had a happy effect, and during the remaining period of the insurrection Candahar continued quiet; no reverse nor even check was experienced, the administration was restored, and

the country merely troubled by a few bands of marauders, who could effect nothing important. When the evacuation of Afghanistan was determined on at the close of 1842, Major Rawlinson accompanied General (afterwards Sir William) Nott as an extra aide-de-camp, was present at the investment and capture of Ghuzni, and returned through the Punjab to India. At this time a lamentable accident caused him six months of the most intense anxiety, and threatened to bring his official career to a disastrous end.

As political agent at Candahar, he had had the entire management of the revenue of the province, together with the feeding and payment of the troops, and had received and disbursed, in 1840-42, on behalf of the British Government, a sum of not less than one million pounds sterling. So long as the communications remained open, his quarterly accounts were sent regularly to Calcutta, but considerable arrears had accumulated when our evacuation commenced, and it was accordingly decided to close the accounts in India; the cash-books, receipts, and other vouchers for expenditure, being sent under charge of his assistant by the direct route to Sukker, from whence they were forwarded, according to orders received from Government, by a native vessel to meet him at Ferozepore. On its way this vessel caught fire while ascending the Sutlej, and was burnt to the water's edge. Nothing remained of the papers but a mass of blackened scraps and half-burned fragments. Yet it was necessary to present to Government a complete and exact account of the entire sum which had passed through the agent's hands. At first the situation seemed hopeless, and, for the first time in his life, Major Rawlinson had a feeling of despair; but bracing all his energies to meet the trial which had fallen upon him without any fault of his own, trusting to a retentive memory, scrutinising and making the most of every precious fragment of scorched paper that had been saved from the burning wreck, finally applying for and obtaining duplicate receipts from all those still living to whom he had paid anything, he succeeded by dint of six months' hard labour in bringing his accounts into complete order, showed how every rupee

which he had received or raised had been spent, and had the satisfaction of being complimented by Government upon the exactness, accuracy, and clearness of his financial statement.

On successfully passing the ordeal, he was offered by Lord Ellenborough the choice of several vacant civil appointments in India. Had he accepted this offer, he would naturally have become one of that famous North-Western brotherhood which had its birth about this time, and which will always hold an honourable place in the history of the British Empire in India—a brotherhood including the names of Broadfoot, Edwardes, Outram, the two Lawrences, and Frere. But Major Rawlinson had a pursuit which was dearer to him than professional advancement—the Sphinx of Cuneiform discovery had laid her spell upon him—and declining therefore the brilliant prospects which seemed opening upon him if he remained in India, he accepted in preference the post of British Resident at Baghdad, which happened to become vacant by the resignation of Colonel Taylor in the autumn of 1843. His friends viewed this as a sort of "honourable exile;" but individually he was more than satisfied—he was delighted with the appointment. It took him back, after a four years' absence, to the country which had for him greater interest than any other. It placed him in the near vicinity of the rock tablets on whose complete decypherment he was bent, and being an office the work of which was, comparatively speaking, light, it gave him ample leisure for the prosecution of the studies in which he took so keen an interest, without trenching upon the time which was needed for his political duties and employments. During his four years' absence from Mesopotamia, his cuneiform labours had been perforce suspended. He had contributed nothing to literature but a few stray papers, published in the "Geographical Journal," on the comparative geography of Afghanistan. It was with all the zest of one long deprived of his favourite element that he plunged once more into the abstruse subject whereto he had for so many years devoted his best powers, and set himself to complete the task of decypherment, in which he had already made such considerable progress.

The field of research had at this time recently enlarged itself. M. Botta, French Consul at Mosul, had succeeded in disentombing from the mounds of Khorsabad sculptures and inscriptions in extraordinary abundance, which were generally regarded by the learned of Europe as belonging to the best times of the Assyrian Empire. Major Rawlinson was the first to perceive and to point out that the clue to the Assyrian legends would be found through the Babylonian transcripts attached to Persian inscriptions in almost every instance, and that consequently the accurate knowledge of the ancient Persian tongue was a necessary preliminary to any satisfactory rendering of the newly found treasures. With this conviction he devoted himself once more with untiring energy to the complete elaboration and elucidation of the Persian writings at Behistun and other places, visiting the scenes and exposing himself to considerable personal danger in copying characters which are inscribed on a precipitous rock at the height of 300 feet above the plain. In the course of the years 1844 and 1845 he was able, by great assiduity, to complete his first memoir on the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, a memoir which was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1846, and which forms a volume of 420 pages.

In the year 1847, following out the thought that it was through the trilingual inscriptions set up by the early Persian kings that the Assyrian language, in which so many documents had now been recovered, could alone be satisfactorily interpreted, Major Rawlinson visited Behistun for the third time, and obtained complete copies of the Scythic and Babylonian transcripts of the great inscription. With these he returned to England in 1849, after an absence of twenty-two years, during the whole of which time he had taken no furlough, and had never been on the sick list for more than a few days at a time. Major Rawlinson's fame as a decypherer was by this time fully established, and he found himself somewhat of a "lion." He was presented at Court, and had the honour of dining with the Queen. He had the free run of London society. Oxford enrolled him in the list of her honorary D.C.L.'s at the first encœnia after his return, in

company with Viscount Gough and Major Herbert Edwardes, two other Indian celebrities. Cambridge (and in due course Edinburgh) presented him with similar degrees. The Royal Society of London elected him one of their fellows. Foreign academies showered their honours upon him. He received diplomas from the Universities of Munich, Berlin, Dresden, Leipsic, Vienna, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, and Pesth. American universities also enrolled him as a member. The King of Prussia, unsolicited, sent him the insignia of the Prussian Order of Merit. In January, 1850, a few weeks after his return to England, Major Rawlinson read before the Royal Asiatic Society, the Prince Consort presiding, a paper on the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, containing a translation of the greater part of the "Black Obelisk Inscription," which was the first attempt made by any one to render into English, or, indeed, into any other language, an Assyrian historical document.

This effort formed a point of departure for all subsequent Assyriologists, and entitles Sir Henry Rawlinson incontestibly to the claim of priority of discovery in the field of Assyrian and Babylonian decypherment—a claim generally admitted in Germany, though it has been contested in England and in France. Soon after the publication of this memoir in March, 1850, Major Rawlinson, having been permitted to inspect copies of Assyrian inscriptions brought to England by Mr. Layard, made the important discovery of the mention of Hezekiah's war with Sennacherib in an inscription of that monarch's, which furnished the first definite point of contact between the Assyrian and the Jewish records, thus assigning to the former a definite place in literature, and to the events recorded in them their proper position in the history of the world. The announcement of this discovery was originally made in the columns of the *Athenæum*, in the month of August, 1851.

In the autumn of 1851, Henry Rawlinson (now gazetted as Lieut.-Colonel in Turkey) returned to his post at Baghdad, and resumed his diplomatic employments as British Resident under the East India Company, and Consul (now Consul-General) under the home Government.

At the same time, having been entrusted by the British Museum with the sum of £3,000 to be spent in excavations at his discretion, he commenced a series of investigations in the Mesopotamian countries, Assyria, Babylonia, Chaldæa, and even in Susiana, which had the most important results. Employing as agents Mr. Hormazd Rassam, the late Mr. Loftus, and Mr. Taylor (subsequently British Consul at Diarbekr), he laid bare the primitive cities of Babylonia, explored and exactly measured the great Temple of Borsippa, believed by many to be on the site of the "Tower of Babel," and obtained from the mound of Koyunjik (at Nineveh), the entire series of most valuable sculptures which occupy the basement floor of the Assyrian rooms in the British Museum. Accounts of the works undertaken under his direction, and sometimes under his own personel superintendance, in the year, 1852–54, will be found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1855 and 1856, and in other periodical publications; but no collection has been made of them, and in particular the Assyrian excavations of this period are left without adequate record, owing to the untimely death of the gentleman who conducted them, the lamented William Kenneth Loftus. While superintending these valuable researches, Colonel Rawlinson was also engaged in conducting through the press, a memoir on the Babylonian columns of the Behistun inscription, which saw the light in 1852, shortly after he left England for Baghdad. This memoir contains the whole inscription, with a Latin interlinear translation, a list of the characters employed (246 in number), and an analysis of the text, extending to 104 pages. It is, unfortunately, incomplete, since the analysis extends to one column only out of five; but it furnishes the key to the whole subject of Babylonian and Assyrian philology; and it is not too much to say that without it the works of Oppert, Fox Talbot, George Smith, and Sayce, by which Assyriology has been brought into its present advanced state, could not have been written. With one brief interlude, Colonel Rawlinson's Oriental life was now ended, and he entered upon an English career, still marked, like his Oriental one, by the combination of active public occupations with literary

and linguistic researches. The chief circumstances of his public life are the following:—In February, 1856, he retired as Lieutenant-Colonel from the East India Company's Service, thirty years after entering it. He was soon afterwards made a K.C.B., and given a place among the Directors of the East India Company, nominated by Government. In 1857, he was for a short time a candidate for the representation of Greenock, but withdrew on an intimation being given by the old member of his desire to retain the seat. In the same year he stood twice for Reigate, being defeated by a small majority on the first occasion, and returned by a large one on a chance vacancy occurring a few months later. In 1858, he took an active part in the parliamentary discussion of the "government of India" Bill, speaking frequently in favour of the ministerial proposals to transfer the government from the Company to the Crown; and when the Bill passed, he was not unnaturally nominated a member of the new Council of India whose appointment he had advocated. This nomination involved the resignation of his seat in Parliament. In 1859, on the retirement of the Hon. C. Murray, he was offered and accepted the post of British Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to Persia, with the local rank of Major-General, which he has ever since by courtesy enjoyed. He retained this appointment, however, only for a single year, as he disapproved on principle of the transfer of the envoyship (which was made in 1860), from dependence upon the India Office to its old position of subordination to the Foreign Minister. Short as was his tenure of this office, it is believed he did much to establish on a satisfactory basis the relations between England and Persia, while acquiring at the same time the complete confidence of the Shah, a circumstance which led to his being appointed by the Government to attend that Sovereign on the occasion of his visit to England in 1873. At the general election in the year 1865, he was returned after a sharp contest M.P. for Frome; and was active in Parliament on all Eastern subjects, from 1865 to 1868. In the last named year he was once more nominated by the Government to a life seat in the Council of India, a situation which he still retains, and to which he

devotes himself assiduously. His literary and scientific occupations since 1855, have been various and engrossing. In 1855, he undertook the editing of the cuneiform inscriptions of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia, for the British Museum; and, aided by Mr. Coxe and Mr. George Smith, he brought out in the course of the years 1859–70, three folio volumes of inscriptions, accompanied by a brief description of their contents—a publication of the greatest value to Assyriologists, and which has been supplemented by the publication of two more volumes in 1875 and 1884. He also furnished, between 1858 and 1860, a number of essays and notes to the translation of Herodotus, brought out by his brother Professor Rawlinson, from which (in the words of that writer) "the work derives its principal and most permanent interest."

At the present day Sir Henry Rawlinson is probably better known to the English public as an authority on Central Asian Geography, and especially as a political writer on what is called the Eastern Question, than either as an Orientalist or a Cuneiform discoverer. For many years past, indeed, leaving the prosecution of Cuneiform research to younger and more energetic scholars, he has devoted himself to tracking the tortuous course of Russian Policy in the East, and striving to arouse the public mind in England to the dangers of Russia's advance towards India. His long personal experience in Persia and Afghanistan, and his later employment in the Secret Department of the India Office, have given him exceptional advantages in this respect, of which he has largely availed himself. Whether in the Chair of the Geographical Society, which he filled for five years between 1870 and 1875, or as a contributor to the periodical literature of the day, he has been unremitting in his efforts to furnish information regarding Central Asia. By his remarkable volume, entitled "England and Russia in the East," which was published in 1875, and attracted much attention, he may be said to have founded a special school of political thinkers. At one time it is true he was regarded as a Russophobist, the Duke of Argyll having invented the term "Mervousness" to designate his supposed unnecessary

alarm at a possible occupation of Merv by Russia—but there are now few who do not admit the soundness of his views and the timeliness of his warnings, few who do not consider that he performed a service to the nation, by his persistent exposition of Russian duplicity and ambition. The advance of the Russian arms from the Caspian to the Oxus, by the aid and complicity of Persia, was foreshadowed, it must be remembered, by Sir Henry, long before the event (see particularly his articles in the Geographical Proceedings, on "the Road to Merv," on the travels of Stuart and O'Donovan, and on the Reports of Rob. Michel and Lesar); and it is understood that he has now accumulated much valuable material, both geographical and political, to illustrate the probable further extension of Russian power and influence in the direction of Herat and Afghan Turkistan, which will appear in due course in some of the London Journals and Reviews as soon as the results of the Afghan Frontier Commission have been published by the Government; and official reticence is thus no longer required. Of late years the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Quarterly Review* have been the journals in which Sir Henry's political articles have usually appeared, while his scientific papers have been published by the Royal Asiatic and the Royal Geographical Societies. He is, indeed, Director of the former Society and Vice-President of the latter, while he is also a Vice-President of the Royal Society of Literature, and the Society of Biblical Archæology, and a member of most of the other scientific bodies of the metropolis. With the British Museum, too, he has been long connected. When he returned to England in 1849 he brought home a choice collection of antiquities and coins—several of the numismatic specimens being unique—which are now in the National Museum; and later on he transferred to the Library of the same establishment his Arabic and Persian MSS., selected with great care, and forming a worthy supplement to the collections, already deposited in the same place, of Col. Taylor and Mr. Rich, his predecessors in the Residency of Baghdad. It has been stated already that he superintended for a long period the Museum Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, and after

his return to England he worked for fully twenty years in preparing copies of the Museum slabs and bricks and cylinders and clay tablets, which he afterwards published at the expense of the trustees in the magnificent folio volumes that now form the basis and repository of all Cuneiform Science. It was, therefore, a fitting termination to such labours, and a source of peculiar gratification to Sir Henry, that he should have been nominated a Trustee of the British Museum by Lord Beaconsfield in 1878, being thus charged with the guardianship of the collections which he had helped to form, and being enabled as a member of the Standing Committee to provide for their care and adequate display.

Sir Henry Rawlinson married in 1862, Louisa, the youngest daughter of Henry Seymour of Knoyle, who was the head of a collateral branch of the Somerset family. She had two sisters, Mrs. Philip Bouverie of Brymore and Mrs. Ayshford Sanford of Nynehead; and two brothers, of whom the eldest, Henry Danby (died in 1877), had been member for Poole and Under Secretary for India; while the younger, Alfred, at present the head of the family, had sat both for Totness and Salisbury. Sir Henry has two sons, both in the army, the eldest in the 60th Rifles being on Sir F. Roberts' Staff in India, while the youngest is about to enter the 17th Lancers. He (Sir Henry) is now in his seventy-seventh year, but time has dealt lightly with him. He is still strong and active and with no physical infirmity; although, indeed, within the last year or two he has given up shooting and riding; he attends to his duties at the India Office, as diligently as the youngest of his colleagues, and beguiles his leisure hours, as of yore, with Arabic manuscripts, Blue-books, and Cuneiform Inscriptions.

Having now concluded the recital of an extraordinary career—one of many shadows and much sunshine—we cannot help comparing it to some wild and rugged picture by Salvator Rosa, or a landstorm by Claude or Poussin, hung beside the quiet landscapes of Cuyp or Wilson. The great qualities of our most distinguished Anglo-Indians shine forth from every corner of it—untiring energy, pro-

digality of self, and abnegation of self. We must go back forty-five years to find Henry Rawlinson, when the Cabul insurrection was at its height, while all Candahar was agitated, displaying, when only a subaltern, vast ability as a political agent, and, in the defence of that important post, the finest qualities of our best soldiers. How he got out of the financial difficulty at Candahar—one that would have killed most other men—is a perfect marvel. Then to think, after all his strange adventures, troubles, and successes, we should find Sir Henry Rawlinson (as still the best Persian scholar) accompanying the descendant of Cyrus and Darius—the Shah of Persia—on his visit to England; thirteen years later still assisting in governing India from the India Office, London; also passing "the sunset of his genius and his days"* in pursuing the studies to which he has been so long devoted;—surely here we have the career of an Anglo-Indian well worthy of imitation by all young, intelligent, devoted, and ambitious India-bound subjects of the Queen-Empress.

* An eloquent tribute paid by Mr. O'Brien to Mr. Gladstone in a late Session of Parliament.

SIR ROBERT MONTGOMERY, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.

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Lord Clarendon, in his essay on Peace, says forcibly: "We cannot make a more lively representation and emblem to ourselves of hell, than by the view of a kingdom in war, where there is nothing to be seen but destruction and fire, and the discord itself is a great part of the torment; nor a more sensible reflection upon the joys of heaven, than as it is all quiet and peace, and where nothing is to be discerned but content and harmony, and what is amiable in all the circumstances of it." After the two sanguinary wars in the Punjab, and its annexation in 1849, by Lord Dalhousie, peace began to dawn on the country of the five rivers. But it was not till sixteen years after the annexation that a Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was to take farewell of his friends at Lahore, when gentle Peace seemed, in a great measure through his administration, to have taken rest in the land. An entertainment given by the residents of Lahore and the neighbouring stations to Sir Robert Montgomery on the 5th, and a farewell Durbar held by him on the 7th January, 1865, were the closing scenes of a really useful and occasionally brilliant administration. Sir Robert had been connected with the Punjab since its annexation, as Commissioner of Lahore and Amritsur;* as Judicial Commissioner and as Lieutenant-Governor he had laboured with constant energy for the advancement of the province, and the happiness of the people; and we read that his labours "were rewarded with greater success than it falls to the lot

* This is a remarkable word in Hindu literature, and means "The pool of immortality." The readers of Southey's *Curse of Kehama*—not very many we are sorry to say—will perhaps recollect *Amreeta*, "The Cup of Immortality." Then we have *Amrapura*, the city of the immortals—the former capital of Upper Burma, near Mandalay.

of many men to achieve." It was also remarked at the time, that to Sir Robert Montgomery belonged the rare happiness—we should say very rare among high official men in our Eastern Empire—of seeing and enjoying the fruition of his labours. Before proceeding to cite a most interesting account of the farewell entertainment and the Durbar at Lahore, we shall give a concise record of Sir Robert Montgomery's services, as we have done of other distinguished Civilians:—

Montgomery, Sir Robert, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., arrived in India on November 13, 1828, as writer. In 1829 he was first appointed Assistant to Joint Magistrate, and Deputy Collector of Azimghur, and in 1832 officiated as Head Assistant there. In 1835 he was Acting Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector at the same station, and in 1837 officiated as Magistrate and Collector, but was subsequently transferred to Allahabad, where in 1839 he was confirmed in his appointment; 1842, transferred to Mirzapore. In 1843 he proceeded on furlough to Europe, and returned to India in 1845. In 1846 he resumed the Magistracy and Collectorship of Cawnpore, and in 1849 was appointed Commissioner in the Punjab. In 1851 he was appointed Third Member of the Board of Administration in the Punjab; 1852 Judicial Commissioner of that province. In 1858 he was transferred to Oudh as Chief Commissioner, and appointed Provisional Member of the Governor-General's Council. On February 25, 1859, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and made a K.C.B. on the 19th of May the same year. He resigned the service on January 10, 1865, and became an Annuitant. In 1866 he was created a G.C.S.I., on February 20, and appointed on September 21, 1868, a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

In our sketch of Mr. Colvin, while, in a note referring to Sir John Lawrence during the year of the Mutiny, it is remarked, as the confirmed opinion of a shrewd *Calcutta Reviewer*, that the subject of our sketch was the only other man (except Sir Henry Lawrence) who could have held the Punjab. Such able and distinguished men are really the chief ornaments of our Indian history; and in describing

the actions of one of them, as on the present occasion, we think a better idea will be formed of Sir Robert Montgomery's career from the closing entertainment given in his honour, than by adopting the usual biographical style pursued in our other sketches.

The local chronicler* proceeds to say, in a tone worthy of the highest and best journalism:—"It was but the other day that His Excellency the Viceroy (Sir John Lawrence) spoke in the highest terms of eulogy of all that the Punjab Government had accomplished. And, in truth, the proofs of an intelligent and liberal administration are to be seen on every side. *The land is now at peace.* Wealth and commerce have indefinitely increased, and all classes have shared in the growing prosperity of the country.

The railway between Amritsur and Mûltan is now completed; the great Bari Doab canal is each year becoming a greater blessing to the country through which it flows, and other works of the greatest public benefit have been projected or begun.

Sir Robert Montgomery has wisely and generously entrusted many of the chiefs and landholders with judicial powers, and has allowed them to feel a sympathy with the Government of which they now form a part. Owing to his unremitting exertion, the cause of female education has been taken up in this province as a great national movement. He has enlisted the religious and political chiefs of the people on the side of reform and progress, and the consequence is that progress has been more than an empty name.

But although Sir Robert Montgomery's connection with the Punjab is about to cease, we trust and believe that he has yet before him many years of honourable service for the State. Thirty-six years of Indian life have left him still in middle age, with unimpaired health, and with an intellect ripened by experience, and still in its prime. There is no man in India, with the exception of his Excellency the Viceroy, whose name is so well known in England as that of Sir Robert Montgomery. For it is upon the Punjab of all

* *Lahore Chronicle* of January 9, 1865, quoted in the *Londonderry Sentinel* of February 28.

her thousand provinces that England looks with the closest attention and the fondest pride. For the stormy days of '45 and '49 are not forgotten; Sobraon and Ferozshar, and Mudki and Chillianwalla, and Guzerat and Mûltan are still well remembered, and England knows, and can admire the gallantry of the noble race over which we are proud to rule. And here, too, we live, sword in hand, and ever ready for the battle, on the borders of that strange and misty land beyond our North-West frontier, from whence are ever coming rumours of future troubles and future wars. For a statesman who, like Sir Robert Montgomery, has wisely ruled this important province, who has quadrupled its resources, and left its population wealthy, loyal, and happy, her Majesty has surely honours in store.

In the Punjab the name of Sir Robert Montgomery will not be forgotten. It will not be forgotten by the chiefs, who were overthrown in the first strength of our new dominion, and whom he has helped to rise. And when the day comes, as come it most surely will, when, throughout the wide Punjab, the woman will be no longer treated as a mere chattel, created for the use and profit of the man, but will take her proper place in the family, the helpmeet of her husband, there will be in every household a voice that will bless the name of Montgomery. Nor will his officers forget him. The lessons which were first taught by Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence have been enforced by him. The Punjab officers remain as when Sir John left them; careful of their glorious traditions; united amongst themselves; and ready to hold their own against the world. We have, it is true, in the past year had many losses. Cust and Davies and Egerton have left the province; James has gone where no human praise can follow him; Sir Herbert Edwardes, the generous and the true, is now departing; and tomorrow Sir Robert Montgomery will have left Lahore, perhaps for ever. We must fill up the gaps as best we may. But we will not forget the teaching and the example of those who have left us."

It has been well said by a philosopher that all rising to great place is by "a winding stair," and, notwithstanding

factions, it is good for a man "to balance himself when he is placed." If ever man required such a balancing it must have been a Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab twenty years ago; and all now seemed resolutely determined to use Sir Robert Montgomery, as well as the memory of him, "fairly and tenderly." The farewell entertainment on the 5th took place at the John Lawrence Hall, Lahore. After a very pleasant evening, enlivened by various kinds of music, his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor led the way to supper, spread out in tents at the rear of the building. Mr. D. F. M'Leod, C.B.,* occupied the chair. At the high table were also seated Mr. A. A. Roberts, C.B.; General Cunyngham, C.B.; Mr. F. H. Cooper, C.B.; and other distinguished officials. After Mr. M'Leod had proposed the health of Her Majesty the Queen, which was received with the most loyal enthusiasm, in an effective speech, it was followed up by that of His Excellency the Viceroy, which was drunk with continued applause. Mr. Roberts, the Judicial Commissioner, then rose and spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, the toast that I shall have the honour of proposing to you needs no preface, but before mentioning what it is, I wish to revert to the circumstance which has brought us together this evening. I believe that it is the wish of all here present to give expression, not only to our feelings, but to those of the Punjab at large, on the approaching termination of the Indian career of our honoured guest, the Lieutenant-Governor of this province. A great and a good man is about to leave us. The Punjab is going to lose a wise, benevolent, and highly respected ruler; India is about to part with a ripe, experienced, and tried administrator. Upwards of thirty-six years have passed since Sir Robert Montgomery landed as a writer on the shores of India. Without interest or connection in this country, but simply owing to the blessing which invariably attends a diligent, zealous, and strictly conscientious discharge of duty, he has risen, step by step, to the high position which he has for the last six years held with so much honour to himself,

* The Lieutenant-Governor elect, afterwards the unfortunate Sir Donald M'Leod.

such credit to our country and name, and such benefit to the people of this province. His official habits and training were acquired in the best school which existed in those days. On leaving college, Mr. Montgomery was appointed assistant to Mr. Thomason, the great James Thomason, who, for nearly ten years, so ably administered the Government of the North-Western Provinces, and who was, at the time of which I am speaking, magistrate and collector at Azimgurh. After serving eight years in Azimgurh, Mr. Montgomery was transferred to Allahabad, of which district he effected the settlement in addition to his duties as magistrate and collector. And here I must look back through the vista of twenty-five years, and recall my own feelings on being appointed joint magistrate and deputy collector under my honoured friend, who was even then considered one of the best officers among a number of excellent men then serving in the North-Western Provinces. Mr. Montgomery next had charge of the Cawnpore district, and was so employed when the second Sutlej campaign brought the Punjab under British sway. Lord Dalhousie placed the illustrious brothers, Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence at the head of the administration, and called upon the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces to select some of his best officers to be commissioners of divisions in the new province. Mr. Thomason named Mr. Montgomery, first; Mr. Donald M'Leod, second; Mr. Edward Thornton, third; and Mr. Edgworth, fourth. To Mr. Montgomery was assigned the headquarters division, that of Lahore, which at that time comprised the districts now forming the Amritsur division. The commissioner of a division in a non-regular province is one of the keystones of the administration. I must leave you to imagine what devolved upon Mr. Montgomery as Commissioner of Lahore immediately after annexation. Having held this office two or three years, Mr. Montgomery was promoted to a seat in the Board of Administration; and upon the reconstruction of the Government under a Chief Commissioner, Mr. John Lawrence, Mr. Montgomery became Judicial Commissioner, which appointment he filled for several years. It requires

some knowledge of the cumbrous procedure, endless delays, enormous expense, and ultimate uncertainty of the old regulation courts of justice, to appreciate the simpler procedure, the promptitude, the cheapness and the substantial justice which have always characterized the courts of the Punjab. The defects of the regulation system were carefully eschewed. The simple rule of confronting man to man, and of endeavouring to do justice between them, was enforced by the closest supervision on the part of the heads of the administration and of the Commissioner.

The courts rapidly improved, and they obtained under Mr. Montgomery, as Judicial Commissioner, the high character which, I am happy to believe, they still bear. Not the least of the benefits conferred by our honoured guest on this province is the Punjab Civil Code, which he caused to be compiled by Mr. Temple, under his own immediate supervision. I can only say that I hope it will long remain in force in this province. Mr. Montgomery was still Judicial Commissioner when the Mutiny of the Sepoy army burst forth at Meerut, and extended all over Upper India, from Peshawur to Dacca. The chief Commissioner, Mr. J. Lawrence, was returning from the Khyber Pass where he had been carrying on negociations with the Ameer of Cabul, and had reached Rawul Pindee. Mr. Montgomery was at Lahore. I could mention many incidents which would show the quick perception, the promptitude, and the courage of the then Judicial Commissioner in the hour of danger. There must be many here who will bear me out when I say how much we, at Lahore in particular, owe, under God, to Mr. Montgomery for our safety at that eventful time. On the fall of Lucknow, Mr. Montgomery was summoned by Lord Canning to be Chief Commissioner of Oude, and left the Punjab for a brief period. But, although he was in Oude only one year, much was effected by him in that time. When he arrived at Lucknow the rebel forces were within two miles of that city; he raised a strong police, got a contingent from the Punjab under our faithful ally the Rajah of Kapurthalla, and, with the aid of the regular troops, soon drove all rebels out of the country,

restored peace, dismantled the numerous strong forts which existed; revised the land settlement; organised the courts of justice, and adopted the bold and original policy of investing the great Talookdars with magisterial, judicial, and fiscal powers, and thus enlisted them on the side of order and good government. While these and other measures were in progress under Mr. Montgomery in Oude, the herculean constitution of Sir John Lawrence gave way from his incessant toil, and he had to resign the government of the Punjab and return to England. His mantle of course fell upon Mr. Montgomery. How he has worn it, it is not for me to say. The former Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has returned to India in renewed health, and is now Viceroy of this country. Scarce three months have passed since we heard from Sir John Lawrence's own lips, in this very place, the warmest commendation of his Lieutenant, Sir Robert Montgomery. Soon after he assumed charge of the government of the Punjab, the distinguished services of the Lieut.-Governor were graciously acknowledged by the Queen, who conferred upon him the high honour of the second division of the Order of the Bath. For six years has Sir Robert Montgomery devoted himself to the labour of government. He received the province in a flourishing condition, and he will have the satisfaction of making it over to our experienced, respected, and welcome Lieut.-Governor-elect improved in every respect. Mr. Kaye, in his recent history of the Sepoy war, has said of Sir John Lawrence that he seemed to be continually looking onwards, upwards, as if life were not meant for repose, with the grand princely motto, "I serve," inscribed in characters of light on his forehead. It is quite true Sir John laboured incessantly, but it is equally true that he was never satisfied with what he did himself, or with what was done by those under him.

His constant cry was "Excelsior," still higher. You will all agree with me that Sir Robert Montgomery has had the same watchword. He too has always been calling out "Excelsior," and if I mistake not this will continue to be the watchword of the Punjab. Nor has Sir Robert Montgomery failed to maintain that Christian character of the

administration of the Punjab which Mr. Kaye has so justly attributed to it. Blameless and exemplary in all the relations of domestic and social life, Sir Robert Montgomery has striven to do his duty to God and man. The improvements in the station of Anarkulle, in the new station now springing up near Government house, and in the beautiful gardens which surround the John Lawrence Hall, are evidences of his attention to matters which conduce so much to the comfort and pleasure of us all. His hospitality, his courtesy, and his urbanity need no commendation from me. I can only repeat, that both in his public and in his private capacity he has faithfully endeavoured to do his duty. Sir Robert Montgomery, I offer you in the name of this company our hearty congratulations on the successful termination of your long and distinguished career. We rejoice to see you in the enjoyment of such a measure of the blessing of health that, should your further services be at any time required, you will be able to render them, and still to afford the benefit of your great experience. We wish you a happy meeting with Lady Montgomery and your family. We wish you "God speed." Ladies and gentlemen, I propose the health of our honoured guest, Sir Robert Montgomery. (The conclusion of this excellent speech was the signal for loud and prolonged cheering.)

Sir Robert Montgomery rose, and, not without emotion, spoke to the following effect:—Ladies and gentlemen, my heart is warm with feelings of the deepest gratitude at the cordial and flattering reception I have met with. Need I say, that it is with the deepest sorrow I leave all those amongst whom I have laboured so long, amongst whom I have grown old, amongst whom my happiest years have been spent, and many of whom are endeared to me not only by social friendship, but by their high and valuable qualities as public officers. My valued friend, Mr. Roberts, has far too kindly and partially spoken of my services. I most truly declare he has quite overrated them. I have earnestly worked to try and carry out the important interests entrusted to me, but none can feel, as I do, how far I have fallen short; my aim has been to follow in the steps of my great master, now our

honoured Viceroy; compared with his mine has been a comparatively easy task; though I will say, that under no circumstances is the duty of a Governor a bed of roses. The many difficult and important questions daily occurring are harassing in the extreme, often, too, the character and honour of officers, dearer to them than life, is concerned, and requires the utmost care, deliberation and consideration. It is God alone who can give support and guidance under such trials and difficulties. It is a matter of just pride to any man to have his name associated with distinguished predecessors like Henry and John Lawrence, as also with the distinguished military and civil officers whom they reared up. Amongst them are men eminent as soldiers and statesmen, many of whom have been associated with me for years past in public life, and with whom to work has been a pride and a pleasure—Edwardes and Lake—James, alas! gone from us for ever. Becher and Reynell Taylor, Hamilton and Pollock and Cracroft, McLeod and Roberts, Davies and Cust, Forsyth and Prinsep, Brandreth and Melville, Ford and Cooper and Nasmith, able representatives of a noble service. There are other departments, the educational, the police, the public works, the medical, well presided over by Fuller and Hutchinson, and Maclagan, and Doctors Smith, Scriven, and Dallas. There is the uncovenanted service, to whom we all owe so much, well represented by Kirk, and Blyth, and Berkeley; and then there is my gallant Punjab Irregular Force, "the true Punjab shield," scattered along a difficult and exposed frontier. Neville Chamberlain, and Wilde, Lumsden and Brown, Hughes and Vaughan, Keyes and the gallant Pitcher, and many others, the heroes of a hundred fights. Her Majesty's Royal Army has not been directly under me; indirectly I have had much to do with them, and I have ever desired to forward the interests of the soldiers. I have invariably received the utmost co-operation and courtesy from all Her Majesty's officers. His Excellency the gallant Sir Hugh Rose, the chivalrous Sir Hugh Rose, ever deeply interested in promoting the welfare of the soldier, is well represented in this province by Sir J. Garvock, General Cunyngham, Lord

G. Paget, and Brigadier-Generals Tucker and Maxwell. Yes, the time has come when my connection with these distinguished officers and departments must cease, and it is well that it should. Six and thirty years of continued Indian service has blanched the head, and somewhat, perhaps, diminished the working powers. But be assured age has not chilled the heart; I shall never forget my Lahore—never forget my Punjab friends, nor the cordial aid, co-operation, sympathy, and support I ever received from them. Again and again, accept my deep—my heartfelt thanks.

(This speech was received with the greatest applause.)

After some other toasts, including the "Army and Navy of England," appropriate speeches by Mr. Frederick Cooper, General Cunynghame and Mr. McLeod, the future Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the entertainment ended. Sir Robert Montgomery then returned to Government House, having witnessed a great and brilliant success in his honour, never to be forgotten.

On Saturday, the 7th inst., his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor held a farewell Durbar for the chiefs and gentlemen of Lahore and the neighbouring districts, in the grounds of Government House. It was but a short time before that the local journal described the great Durbar held at Lahore by His Excellency the Viceroy, so that it was hardly possible to say much that was new on this occasion. But, nevertheless, the Durbar of the 7th was one of great and peculiar interest. It was the last which Sir Robert Montgomery would preside over in the Punjab; and it was specially intended to impress upon the native chiefs and gentlemen assembled, the earnest desire of His Honour, that after his departure, they would continue to persevere in their efforts to encourage education generally among the people, and female education in particular.

At twelve P.M., the hour fixed for the Durbar, all the gentlemen invited to attend had taken their seats. First, on the right of the Lieutenant-Governor sat the Rajah of Kapurthalla, wearing the Star of India, with his brother Sirdars Vikrama Singh and Suchet Singh immediately behind him. Next to him sat the Rajah of Faridkot, a chief whose possessions lie on the south side of the Sutlej, and below him Sirdar Shamset Singh, head of the Sikh

aristocracy. Next in order was Rajah Harbans Singh, adopted son of the late Rajah Tej Singh, and beside him Narandar Singh, a child born to Rajah Tej Singh in 1859.

Precisely at twelve o'clock, Sir Robert Montgomery entered the Durbar tent with his staff, the whole assembly rising to receive him. He then addressed the chiefs in a short speech. He spoke of the sorrow he felt at leaving them and the province in which he had laboured so long. He praised their efforts in the cause of female education, and announced that His Excellency the Viceroy had been pleased to sanction the bestowal of titles of honour upon such of the Honorary Magistrates of Lahore and Amritsur as had distinguished themselves by labouring for the improvement and embellishment of their respective cities.

The Rajah of Kapurthalla, always found on the side of enlightenment and progress, then rose, and addressing the Lieutenant-Governor, stated his intention of giving 200 rupees a month for the endowment of certain schools.

The Chiefs' Address.

The representatives of the chiefs and people of the two cities of Lahore and Amritsur, then came forward and presented to his Honour an address in Persian, in a handsome case of gold and ivory. The following is a close translation and it will show what a vast amount of work was gone through by our highly respected Lieutenant-Governor:—

"To Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab. From the chiefs and gentlemen of the cities of Lahore and Amritsur, representatives of the people of the whole Punjab.

"Your Honour is about to leave us, with all honour, for England, your native country, and our grief for your departure will never be effaced, and your liberality and benevolence will never be forgotten. Your departure for Europe is honourable and propitious, and leaves a glorious name behind you.

"It is impossible for us to express our thanks for all your kindness. Our children and our children's children, throughout time, will be mindful of your good deeds.

"Your Honour came to this province at the time of the annexation; and you were first appointed Commissioner of Lahore; it was the commencement of a new rule, and of a

new order of things; but through your kindness and impartiality and justice, all, both nobles and peasants, rich and poor, were contented and grateful; and the business of the State was well performed. The country was happily settled, encamping grounds and roads were made; trees and gardens were planted, and rest houses and granaries for the use and comfort of travellers were built. By your energy and good management, thuggee, dacoity, and highway robbery were stopped; the people were secure, and the country became populated; and these crimes have been so completely extirpated, that their names are now all but forgotten.

"Schools were established in towns and villages, and a Government College and Medical Hall were formed, in which thousands may obtain a good education and means of livelihood; and our nobles have acquired the unfading riches of science and wisdom.

"When our good fortune appointed your Honour Judicial Commissioner, the practice of female infanticide, common in some tribes, was stopped. The people of this country were preserved from a great crime, and the lives of their infant daughters are now for ever secure. The extravagant expenditure at betrothals and marriages, which was in some measure the cause of the murder of our girls, has been, by you, regulated; and betrothals and marriages are now easy of accomplishment.

"What can we say of the criminal and civil administration? The offices are full of the records of your good government; you had compiled a civil code, which is a clear exponent of Mahommedan and Hindu law, and the local customs of the people.

"In 1857, it was much owing to the energy of your Honour that the province was preserved in peace. What you did at the disarming of the mutinous Sepoys at Meean Meer, in guarding the jails, and in extinguishing the flame of sedition which threatened the destruction of the whole province, are matters of history. The preservation of the capital was the preservation of the entire province.

"It is owing to you that we now possess a conviction that the Government appreciates our loyalty, and knows that we will not betray its confidence—our prosperity and our loss is now one with that of the State.

"You were selected to be Chief Commissioner in Oude, and when that province was restored to tranquillity, at length our good fortune brought you again to us as Lieut.-

Governor, and your benevolence and good deeds in this office are beyond our praise. From a wilderness the country has become like a garden in spring. Upon the deserving amongst us you bestowed ranks, titles, and estates; to the great chiefs the right of adoption was secured; scattered estates have been consolidated. Punjabis have been encouraged to enter the armies of the State, and portions of our Jagirs have been upheld in perpetuity, our honour has been increased, and we feel that we are acknowledged as well-wishers of the Government. From the establishment of municipal committees the people have received much benefit, and the introduction of the new police has caused the diminution of crime, and has given confidence to the public.

"Your Honour has well commenced the education of those very girls whose lives were preserved by your labours, and whose betrothal and marriage you have rendered easy. These and many other good deeds will ever preserve your memory fresh amongst us.

"At the commencement of 1864 you inaugurated an Industrial Exhibition, collecting all the products of the Punjab in a stately and matchless building, which you had caused to be erected at the capital. You gave rewards and certificates to mechanics and workmen, and encouraged them to improve the manufactures of the province. The gardens and canals you have made around the city of Lahore are proofs of your kindness and liberality. All have received benefit; what comfort and convenience have all derived from railways and telegraphs. The increase of commerce and the wealth and prosperity we have no need to mention.

"Our one regret is that you must soon leave us. May the merciful God convey you home with all peace and safety; may He speedily restore you to us again with increased honour; and may He ever preserve a kindly memory of us in your heart."

Sir Robert Montgomery then rose and replied to the Sirdars and Native gentlemen in Urdu. The reply abounds in beauties, not the least of which are in the following extract:—"When I came among you fifteen years ago, your country was indeed a wilderness—its highways unsafe—its revenues wasted. The anarchy of war, following upon the death of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, had brought ruin on the country, and misery on the people. I thank God I

have lived to see the desolation of those days change for prosperity and contentedness. But I cannot claim to be the sole author of this great change. It was commenced by my illustrious predecessors, Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence." After the close of the Durbar, Sir Robert received an address from the Missionaries, and was presented with a very handsome clock and bible. The departing Lieutenant-Governor made a feeling reply; and this may be said to have ended in India one of the mightiest careers which adorn the history of our great Empire. We have now to welcome the wanderer home.

On the 2nd August, 1865, the citizens of Derry entertained Sir Robert Montgomery, "the far-famed Indian statesman" to dinner in the Corporation Hall, where he was met by the leading men of the city, and guests of note from other quarters. On his arrival on the 1st becoming known, we read* that the joy bells of St. Columb's Cathedral rang out a merry welcome; flags were hoisted in the city, and Derry was decidedly in holiday humour. The Mayor, Henry Darcas, Esq., J.P., presided at the dinner; and a large number of distinguished men were present, including the Right Hon. Lord Dufferin, K.P., Under Secretary of State for India, and J. W. Kaye (afterwards Sir John), the famous Indian historian. After the toast of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, the Chairman gave the Prince and Princess of Wales, particularly alluding to the hearty Irish welcome given to the Prince when he opened the International Exhibition. Captain Bond, in returning thanks for the Army, said that it owed much to Sir Robert Montgomery. He (Sir Robert) was a witness to what was done by the Army during the Mutiny in India, and he was sure that when a section of the British army was under the leadership of a Lawrence, a Montgomery, and a Rose, it could never be found fault with.

The Chairman said: Before proposing the health of our distinguished guest and fellow-citizen, allow me to give a short sketch of his early life and the services he has rendered to this country in [illegible] Sir Robert Montgomery

* *L. D[illegible]* [illegible]ust 5, 1865.

terminated an able and successful administration in the Punjab (of which he was Lieut.-Governor for six years) on the 7th January last. He was born in Londonderry, and educated for some years at Foyle College. He proceeded in 1828 as a civilian to India, where his services for a period of thirty-six years under seven Governor-Generals are well known and appreciated alike by Europeans and natives, and have elicited the approbation of the highest authorities in India and England. The earlier years of his Indian life were spent in the North-West Provinces. He distinguished himself in the Revenue and Judicial Department, and was the author of some able statistical and other works on India. His administrative abilities recommended him to the notice of Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General. In 1849 he was summoned to the Punjab, and there for the last sixteen years, with his old schoolfellows, Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence, his services were great. As a member of the Board of Administration for the Punjab, in conjunction with the two great brothers, Henry and John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery was Judicial Commissioner. He was Commissioner in the Punjab in 1857, at which time the thunderclap of the Mutiny broke out. His firmness and decision at that terrible time was one great means, in God's hands, of stemming the torrent and inspiring confidence in the midst of danger. The present Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, in rendering his just tribute of praise to those who had served during that critical time, thus wrote of him:—"No one perhaps ever had a more single-minded, active, and determined coadjutor than the Chief Commissioner has possessed in that officer. In the [illegible]ist of this crisis all persons felt assured when Robert Montgomery was among them; his coolness in danger and his fertility in resource were invaluable." In 1858 Lord Canning took advantage of Robert Montgomery's long experience, and placed him in the responsible position of Chief Commissioner of Oude. There, in the very disturbed state of that great country after the siege of Lucknow, after a year [illegible]severe labour, during which he succeeded in a great m[illegible]restoring tranquillity, he received the thanks of l[illegible]f Parliament, and the

decoration of the Order of a Knight Companion of the Bath. In 1859 he was re-called by Lord Canning to the Punjab to succeed that great man, Sir John Lawrence, as Lieut.-Governor, who felt it necessary for his health to return to England, and his mantle fell on Sir Robert Montgomery. The Viceroy, Lord Canning, in a minute forwarded to England at that time, after describing the great services of Sir John Lawrence, says:—"Next, but not inferior to any man in his claims to the gratitude of his country, is Mr. Montgomery, the present Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab. I knew but one opinion of the value of his prompt and courageous counsels, tempered as they always have been with the soundest and most generous judgment. Before he received charge of the great Government of the Punjab, I claimed the benefit of his experience and ability in the re-organization of Oude. I shall have to speak elsewhere of his services as Chief Commissioner of that province. Here it is sufficient to say they have largely enhanced his high reputation and his claims to the favour of the Government." Sir Robert Montgomery was Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab. For six years he ruled over that great country, with its fifteen millions of inhabitants spread over 100,000 square miles, exclusive of independent states in connection with the local government. He ruled over this fifteen millions of inhabitants—Sikhs, Hindoos, Mahomedans—with justice and judgment, and left to the regret of all the country, which prospered and flourished under his government. His efforts and success for improving the moral and social condition of the natives were great, and highly appreciated by them. He received addresses from the different chiefs and races previous to his departure, and since leaving the Punjab a sum of £10,000 had been subscribed by natives and Europeans to build a Memorial Hall to be called by his name. It is now our privilege to honour the man who has so highly distinguished himself, and has shed such a bright lustre on his name, and also on the city of his birth. I will now give you, with all the honours, "The health of our noble guest and fellow citizen, Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab!"

Sir Robert Montgomery rose and said: Mr. Mayor and fellow citizens, I thank you with my most heartfelt gratitude for the high honour you have done me, for your reception of me, and for the magnificent entertainment you have given me. It is a source of the deepest gratification to those who have been engaged in public life to find the course they have pursued meets with the approval of their fellow countrymen. But that gratification is greatly heightened when those marks of public approbation proceed, as they do in this instance, from my fellow citizens, from those among whom I was brought up in boyhood, from those with whom my family is in various ways connected. This makes your approval doubly valuable and gratifying. I can boast of an hereditary connection with this city. My family for past generations have lived in or near it. I was born here, and I have the honour of being a freeman of this maiden city. Being freeman of a city so famed, so renowned in history for the bravery of its inhabitants, is no small honour. I was educated at our Foyle College, on the banks of our beautiful river, and if I have been in any way successful in life, I owe it, under God, in a great measure to the vigorous training I received here. Amongst my school contemporaries were Henry and John Lawrence. Rarely has any country produced greater men than they. I am sure of this, that no one family has done so. The two brothers, without any rank, were nominated to the highest office under the Crown, to be Viceroys of the magnificent Indian Empire. Henry did not survive to assume charge of the office. He was mortally wounded whilst defending the old Residency at Lucknow against fearful odds. He and his gallant companions in arms were beleagured for months by hosts of rebels and mutinous soldiers. Numbers of the gallant defenders died from hardship, fatigue, and starvation; many were killed, but the gallant Sir Henry with his dying breath urged, "No terms with the rebels!" "No surrender!" They held out till relieved by the gallant Havelock. His defence of the Residency is the nearest parallel to our forefathers' gallant defence of this maiden city, and Sir Henry was a Derry man. After the recapture

of Lucknow by our forces, I was summoned by Lord Canning to assume charge of the civil government of Oude, of which Lucknow is the capital. I found the Residency riddled with bullets. You could not have put a pin's point between the bullet marks on the walls. It was a perfect marvel how the garrison held out. I have mentioned the name of Lord Canning. It is one held in the deepest veneration by all the natives of India. He was calm and courageous in the midst of unexampled difficulties, and when the hour of victory came he refused to allow the rebellion to be converted into a war of races. He bridged over the gulf that separated them, and he filled the English mind with a generous impulse "to heap coals of fire" upon the heads of a people whose dreadful excesses had plunged all England into mourning. His wisdom and firmness saved not only India, but the character of the British Government. Just before he left India he lost his elegant, amiable, and accomplished partner, and he survived her but a few months, worn out with an unexpected succession of labours, anxieties, and sorrows. I desire to pay this passing tribute of respect to one whose name will ever live in history as a great and just statesman, one to whom I am personally under great obligations. And I may add that we are this evening honoured with the company of one who is engaged in writing the history of the Canning Administration, and who will do him full justice—I allude to the great historian, Kaye. To return to the Lawrences. There is the present Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, full of vigour and energy, and, with great self-reliance, thoroughly to be depended on, just and impartial. He has only one object, and that is to do his duty. There are three other brothers in this remarkable family, Alexander, George, and Richard. All of them have distinguished themselves. The two first were educated at the Derry school, and are generals in the army. The third, Richard, was my military secretary, and is now a colonel holding an important political post in the north-east frontier of India. It is a great privilege for me to have been associated with such men in public life, and it is a curious coincidence that at one time Sir Henry, Sir John and myself

should have formed a board of administration for the government of the new province of the Punjab. After an absence of thirty-seven years I have been permitted, in the good providence of God, to revisit my native country and my native city, and to meet those again whom I met in my youth. Alas! most of the old of that period have passed away; but I see their sons worthy successors of worthy parents, vigorously serving their generation, and adding to the prosperity of this fine city. Amongst the few survivors of olden times, I see two of my old masters, the Brothers Simpson, the tutors of the Lawrences, and it must be a great gratification to them, in their old and honoured age, to know that their labours were not in vain. I rejoice to see the marked improvement in this city and its widely extending suburbs, its new lines of quays for the increased shipping, its new public buildings, its beautiful bridge, its railroads, and its improved conservancy. These are all signs of great prosperity, and, indeed, in all I have seen of Ireland, I observe immense progress. The houses are better, the cultivation is better. Owing to emigration wages are higher, and the farms are becoming larger. Education is spreading, and crime is decreasing. These are all signs of prosperity. My earnest aspirations are for my own native country, and I very earnestly hope that those disturbing influences, which at one time so greatly prevailed, and which, thank God, are so much lessened, may soon altogether cease—then will Ireland rise to be permanently great and prosperous. I have met many of Ireland's sons in various parts of the world, and have found them not only prosperous, but excelling. I want to see all her sons equally excelling in their own native land. Ireland has supplied many great men to the public service; none of her cities have contributed more than our own. As a soldier she has given a Sir Henry Lawrence; as a statesman a Sir John Lawrence; as a naval officer of great distinction, who sacrificed his life for his fellow creatures, Captain Boyd. To the Church she has given many remarkable men. It would be difficult to enumerate them all. I will only mention two, one of them a contemporary of my own and a schoolfellow, Canon Boyd,

and the other the Dean of Emly. And now, my friends, I again thank you for the honour you have done me. I regret my inability to express all I feel. I can only say that this day will be amongst the brightest in the annals of my life, and my feelings of gratitude will never pass from my mind.

The Chairman, in proposing the toast of "The Governor-General of India, Sir John Lawrence, and that of Lord Dufferin, Under-Secretary of State for India," said—We claim Sir John Lawrence as a Derry man. He and his elder brothers were educated at Foyle College, and well may Derry be proud of such men as the Lawrences and Sir Robert Montgomery. He would say such men are placed in command when Providence brings mercy to a land.—Lord Dufferin said:—Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, in rising to make you my acknowledgments, I feel that upon the present occasion I have to thank you for the double honour you have conferred upon me, for not only have you been good enough to drink my health in a very flattering manner, but you have done me the greater honour of associating my name with the name of one of the greatest statesmen that ever was sent across the seas to govern our great dependency of India. Gentlemen, I only wish that Sir John Lawrence himself was here upon this occasion; because great as has been the enthusiasm displayed by those who have had the good fortune to be present—great as is the admiration evinced by all who now hear me towards our guest to-night—I feel that there is no one here present who would have drunk his health, and welcomed him back to his native land, with greater enthusiasm and greater marks of friendship and admiration than Sir John Lawrence. I regret the absence of Sir John Lawrence, because, perhaps, he is the only man who could do justice to the guest who has honoured us with his presence. He could have told with greater authority and in far more satisfactory terms, how great is the debt of gratitude which this country owes to Sir Robert Montgomery. In the absence of Sir John Lawrence, I feel I am perfectly incompetent to discharge such a duty. The Mayor has already enumerated, necessarily in a very brief manner, the various achievements

of Sir Robert Montgomery; but even in that varied catalogue of noble deeds, there is one he has not alluded to, and I would venture to ask permission to mention it. If Sir Robert Montgomery were capable of regarding what he has done with pride—which I believe is the very last sentiment he would feel—I believe there is no result of his labours he would look back to with greater pleasure than the fact that he should have been, under the Providence of God, one of the principal promoters, and the means of establishing in a healthful position, the education of females in India. Upon such an occasion as the present, it would be inopportune that I should dwell upon the vast importance of such a result. I mention it, however; I think it is one that ought not to be passed over. I do so with the less reluctance, inasmuch as we have present amongst us an individual who, I am perfectly certain, will find it his duty to record on the imperishable pages of history, in those glowing terms of which he is so apt a master, the various achievements of Sir Robert Montgomery. Gentlemen, I therefore beg leave to return to you my thanks on behalf of Sir John Lawrence for the honour you have done him, and, at all events, you will permit me to reap the evanescent advantages of Sir John Lawrence by thinking you will regard me for the moment as a Derry man. On my own part I return you my grateful thanks for the kind reception you have given me. I take it exceedingly kind on the part of the Mayor that he should have thought of inviting me to be present on this occasion. It is perfectly true you have every right to claim Sir Robert as a Derry man; but, I think, as a man of Ulster, we should claim him as an Ulster man. We might extend our liberality, and allow Ireland to claim him. Even Ireland will not be able to keep him, but Great Britain will insist on regarding him as one of her most distinguished men.

This speech of our present Viceroy (1886), the scholarly, energetic, and versatile Earl, must have greatly pleased the subject of our sketch. It was spoken by a nobleman who has now (with Lady Dufferin) gained "golden opinions" in India, and who has some of Sheridan's graces of style and

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In the Chiefs' address, we find them congratulating Sir Robert Montgomery on arresting female infanticide by regulating the extravagant expenditure of betrothals and marriages—a check decidedly for the good of the country. The chiefs are evidently stern advocates of progress, and not inclined to care much about the "good old days" when child-murder flourished, forming a contrast with home, where, Lord Dufferin tells us, in one of his speeches,* in the case of Ireland, "for the poorest peasants there were always stones and mud at hand out of which to construct a cabin; there was always a bog from which to cut turf; there was always a handsome girl to make him the father of twelve children in about a dozen years; and there was always the pig to pay the rent!" Brighter days have come for the Punjab: let us hope they are now at hand for Ireland. But let us return to the banquet in famous old Derry. The Chairman next gave "The health of John William Kaye, Esq.," the eminent Indian historian. This toast was very warmly received. Mr. Kaye replied:—There was no man a greater admirer of Sir Robert Montgomery than he (Mr. K.) was. Although many things had been said with regard to Sir Robert's administration in India by the noble lord and other speakers, there was one thing more he should like to say, and he had watched Sir Robert's career throughout. He attributed his success more to this than to anything else, that he carried out with him to India the warm good heart of an Irishman. Mr. Kaye went on to say, that Sir Robert had endeavoured to sympathise with the people whom he had gone out to govern, and he had, by every possible means, endeavoured to under-

* Lord Dufferin's "Speeches and Addresses," p. 67.

stand the feelings and wants of the people. It is by this, more than any other means, that the distinctive character of Sir Robert Montgomery had been shown. There had been other men of the same kind in the Empire of India, but no man had better made himself acquainted with the wants and requirements of the people over whom he was appointed to govern. Derry had sent out men to India who had added lustre to the British Crown, and who had been actors in scenes which would render their own names famous. Amongst them were the two Lawrences, Sir Robert Montgomery, Brigadier-Generals Young and Nicholson. He thanked them most heartily for the manner in which his health had been given and received.—The Chairman, in felicitous terms, then gave the health of Lady Montgomery, to which the Dean of Emly responded; and thus ended the memorable banquet to our distinguished Anglo-Indian, Sir Robert Montgomery.*

With reference to the above brief but pithy speech of our popular Indian historian, and ornament to Anglo-Indian periodical literature, it is with much regret we are led to think, that Sir John Kaye—the tall form, the striking visage, and genial manner, will never be forgotten—has been for ten years gone from among us. The author of this work received much kindness from him, when kindness was most needed, encouraging him, in the face of many obstacles, to go on with his literary pursuits.

* Should our readers wish more particulars regarding the subject of this sketch, they will find them in Bosworth Smith's "Life of Lord Lawrence," and the Overland *Friend of India*, January 23, 1865.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., M.P., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.

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He must be a bold man in the future who will quietly sit down to do full justice to the biography of such a distinguished Anglo-Indian as Sir Richard Temple. Even now, for a sketch, the striking individuality, the intense energy, the variety, and the ability he displays—all of which seem to cast a lasting halo around him—are sufficient to take away the breath of any ordinary mortal, or unnerve the writer's hand while holding the pen. He knows the place and the subject of whatever he writes or talks about; and, as regarding place, this is more than could be said of his great namesake and kinsman, Lord Palmerston. We have in a former little work cited an anecdote of England's popular statesman, which may be repeated here:—He would say to his Private Secretary, after hearing a long discussion on certain places of the globe from that terrible plague of a popular minister's life, a long-winded deputation, "Now, hand me down the atlas, and let us see where the deuce all these places are!"* Sir Richard Temple would have had them all at his fingers' ends; and we do seriously believe that if this vast London—this modern Babylon of ours—were besieged to-morrow, he would play the part, in mental and bodily energy at least, of an ubiquitous English Gambetta in a more finished style than almost any other zealous or patriotic M.P. in England.

This is hardly an exaggeration when we look closely at his intense application, and the variety of powers exhibited in a very remarkable and successful career. We shall commence with a brief record of his services. The noble object of record-

* Burma and Tonquin, p. 59.

ing the services of civilians [illegible] by Lord William Bentinck—[illegible] 1835—who, at the beginning [illegible] circular for "a statement of [illegible] then in the Civil employ of Government [illegible] appearance of Prinsep and Dass's work [illegible] of authentic information, was the scheme [illegible] Spasmodic attempts have since been made to supply the want, but without effect till Mr. Prinsep [illegible] few years ago, took the subject in hand, not only for Bengal but for the other Presidencies of India. The result of his labours has been already remarked on in a sketch of the Prinseps.

To bring as much information as possible together in a small space has been an object well kept in view, and the following record, in addition to others already brought forward, may give some idea of work to be expected:—

Temple, Sir Richard, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.—Arrived in 1846, as writer on the Bengal Establishment. 1847, Assistant to Commissioner of Revenue, Delhi division. Transferred in 1848 to the Agra division, whence he was afterwards appointed Assistant to Magistrate and Collector of Muttra. In 1850 he was Assistant to the Commissioner of Revenue, Allahabad division, afterwards appointed Magistrate and Collector at Allahabad. In 1851 he was sent to the Punjab as Assistant Commissioner in the Trans-Sutlej Territory. In 1853 he became Settlement Officer in Lahore division, and in 1854 Secretary to the Chief Commissioner in Punjab. In 1858, on return from furlough, he resumed Commissionership of Lahore. In 1860 he was appointed Chief Commissioner of Currency, and Chief Assistant to Financial Member of Council of the Goverment of India. In 1861 he was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. In 1866 he received the honour of a C.S.I., and in 1867 he was raised to a K.C.S.I., and appointed resident at Hyderabad. In 1868 he was a Member of the Governor-General's Council, and in 1874 he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. In 1876 he was created a Baronet, chiefly for his splendid services during the famine. In 1877 he re-

[illegible] and was appointed Governor of Bombay, [illegible] on the 1st May. In January, 1878, [illegible] with honour of G.C.S.I., and retired from [illegible] 27th April, 1880 (Annuitant on the [illegible] Member of Parliament for the Evesham Division [illegible] the last as well as in the present Parliament.

An excellent and highly interesting paper appeared in *The World* of August, 1884, giving as one of its "Celebrities at Home" the subject of our sketch at the Nash, Kempsey, Worcestershire. Sir Richard is out of harness.

Here we are informed is the busy wanderer's famous home, reflecting the mind of its owner at every turn. Directly you enter the hall you find arranged on the wainscoted walls, "groups of Indian shields and trophies of the chase,—elephant tusks, tiger skins, and the horns of wild cows, ibexes, and bison. In suitable positions there are hung portraits of some members, now long deceased, of the Temple family. Through the hall window, in which the Temple arms are displayed in coloured glass, the light comes in rainbow hues; and over the head of the wide staircase hangs the banner presented by the Queen to Sir Richard Temple, when he was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on the occasion of Her Majesty being proclaimed Empress of India." We are also told that the little studio where he paints, and the library, are quite "in character with the antiquity of the house." In the library, among various literary treasures is a volume containing choice specimens of Asiatic pictorial art, sufficiently attesting "the literary taste of the successive owners of the Nash; while water-colour sketches by his father, the late Mr. Richard Temple, of scenes in lands washed by the Mediterranean, demonstrated that Sir Richard's own productions in oil and water-colours are the fruit of inherited talent." Then, again, on the mantelpiece stands a complete set of brass paraphernalia of Hindu worship, which Sir Richard procured from the priests of the "holy city" of Benares. There is also an interesting collection of useful ornaments, whose inscriptions state that they were presented to Sir Richard on the occasions of foundation

stones of public works being laid by [illegible] tion of their completion. On this [illegible] says, "They serve as landmarks in the history of the European architecture in India." There could [illegible] finer compliment paid to a public man that this. [illegible] we have heard so much of Sir Richard Temple during the last thirty years, it was only lately that we were informed of his being an artist of great merit. The mention above of his oil and water-colour productions makes us more [illegible] ever assured of the fact that a truly great man can find [illegible] for anything. As to drawing or painting, even with moderate talent, there is no recreation more pleasant to an Anglo-Indian in the climes of the sun. Time can never hang heavily on his hands; and even excessive heat vanishes before the bewitching art of Turner, Landseer, and Millais. We recollect a fine old General in the south of India, who had served with General Stewart's grand army and Brigadier-General Malcolm's forces, and who showed us much kindness when life's morning was young, on returning from beholding "Goldfinder" have a smart gallop on the race-course, at home, with a portrait of his son in Horse-Artillery uniform—his own work—hanging on the wall, putting in the finishing touches to an original oil-colour with a zeal and success which would have surprised some ardent workers for Academy honours at the present day. We have met artists—lady and gentleman—frequently in India; and, strange to say, they have always seemed more happy and contented than other men. Employment, artistic or literary, no doubt, also greatly mitigates nervous diseases in Eastern lands.

As Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, or Governor of Bombay, in busy times like those in which he governed, with "famine sore in the land,"—to conceive such a man as Sir Richard Temple quietly sitting down to paint a banian tree, a Hindu temple, or an Asiatic beauty, is not very difficult; and it reminds us of the energetic and versatile first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, as described by Lord Macaulay, when all Bengal was ringing with the death of the great Brahman, Nuncomar, the "conqueror in that deadly grapple," sitting down, "with characteristic self-possession, to write

the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, traditions, arts and natural productions of parison is even more apposite than with

breaking out in Bengal (1874) Sir Richard inted to superintend the relief operations of districts. It was in 1877, while he was in the with Lord Lytton, and when he was or-elect of Bombay, that he was deputed to the delicate duty of proceeding to Madras to represent the views of the Government of India to the Duke of Buckingham" (then Governor of that Presidency), "and to report on the extent of the famine," and other material points. "This mission," we read, "prevented his return again to Calcutta before taking up his appointment as Governor of Bombay, and it occasioned the very unusual event of a deputation from Bengal being sent to Bombay for the purpose of presenting Sir Richard Temple with an address, setting forth the esteem in which he was held in Bengal, to which no fewer than twenty thousand signatures were appended." It was also before Sir Richard became Governor of Bombay that he was created a baronet, which was a revival of the old honour, for "there had been baronetcies previously in the family." Of course, most of our readers have perused, if not his works, the famous essay on Sir William Temple, by Lord Macaulay.* In the grand summing up, a few points of similarity between Sir Richard and his famous kinsman may be observable; but, on the whole, there is a vast difference between the two men, and we think that, notwithstanding the apparently higher style of greatness of Sir William, our brilliant essayist would have given a most decided preference to Sir Richard. Each has the attributes of "a man of lively parts and quick observation." But no one can say that his career proves him, like Sir William, to have been "excessively selfish." On the contrary, it is a remarkable abnegation of self in most cases, and a prodigality of self in others, which, as displayed in men like Outram, Neill, Lawrence, or Napier, add lustre to

* "Critical and Historical Essays," vol. iii.

Sir Richard's character. Again, it is said of Sir William, "It was his [illegible] success;" [illegible] probably possessed by the [illegible] prefer security, [illegible] anxiety which are inseparable from greatness." The distinguished part of his Indian career would utterly [illegible] such an assertion. And there is no "natural [illegible] mind" about Sir Richard. Take enough the Ambassador and Cabinet Counsellor, the Politician, Economist, and Historian, was never required to visit vast districts [illegible] by a dreadful famine, or, a large part of the time under a burning sun, to be ten or twelve hours on any one day in the saddle, while relieving the distressed and the dying, or causing light to shine where all before was abject misery and darkness; so there is no saying what Sir William might have done, under similar circumstances, had he been a distinguished Bengal civilian. But he would probably have sunk under such extraordinary labours. In 1878 Sir Richard was nominated an extra Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India for services during the Bombay famine.

At the General Election of 1880, he accepted the invitation of leading men, headed by Lords Hampton and Coventry, to stand for East Worcestershire. He thus, in an admirable spirit, gave up one of the finest appointments in the world to serve his country in England. Unfortunately, however, he was defeated, but had the satisfaction of heading the other Conservative candidate, and being elected a member of the Carlton Club. In 1885 he was elected a member for the Evesham Division of Worcester; and his position was re-affirmed in July, 1886, by a grand majority of nearly 2,000 votes in a constituency of less than 7,000.* Sir Richard has also had the doctor's degree conferred upon him by our two senior Universities. Regarding his literary talents (as stated in the original Preface, he was erstwhile a Calcutta reviewer)—abundantly evinced by the many excellent works he has written—it has been well remarked that "there are unquestionably three books which no one

* *St. Stephen's Review*, August 14, 1886.

[illegible] takes the slightest interest in [illegible] dian possessions should be without. They are "Oriental Experiences," [illegible] "Men and Events of My Time in India." They teem with interesting facts and descriptions of Eastern [illegible] such as only a busy public man could have witnessed. There are traces of deep thought in these works. Strange enough, "deep thought" is denied by our English historian to Sir William Temple, so that the present age, [illegible] Anglo-Indians, has not deteriorated in this important consideration. At the Nash, in the Vale of Evesham, Sir Richard edited Stanford's Asia in the "Compendium of Geography and Travel;" "and here," says a vivid writer, "are to be seen his portfolios, enclosing hundreds of magnificent sketches taken by himself from nature in nearly every quarter of the known world."

As a reader of papers before learned societies in London and elsewhere, Sir Richard has been eminently to the front since his arrival from India. The above writer, in *St. Stephen's Review*, tells us that, "in an exhaustive paper read before the Satistical Society last year, Sir Richard Temple carefully analysed the eighteen provinces of China, and after comparing their area and capacity for producing cereals with the provinces of India, he deduced an approximate population of the Celestial Empire, and gave it as probably 297 millions, a figure which has since been quoted by more than one organ of the Press as being reasonably accurate; in which we concur, since it has for basis a series of elaborate comparisons, worked out with infinite exactitude by the learned baronet. His computation of the population of China is about 100 millions less than what we have been accustomed to assign to it. Again, to show that he has hardly left any subject untouched, Sir Richard's views of the Eastern Question are those of a philosopher and politician both. As an actual observer of Turk and Greek, and as one who has spent much of his life on the shores of the Ægean, he is entitled to something more than a respectful hearing. His ideas of travel in Palestine, embodied in the same work, are most interesting to the student of theology; for example:—

"The more we examine the topography of the Holy Land, the more shall we find it correspond with the sacred narrative. If any portion of the Bible had been composed in a country distant from the scene of action, if it were a fable, if it had in any degree been fabricated, there must have been some difference discoverable between the narrative and the results of scientific topography. I need hardly say that no such difference has ever been discovered."

And again, "His description of American scenery will take rank for graphic force, with much of what has been written of Europe by Washington Irving." The force of high praise in a reviewer could surely no further go. Irving has been justly considered the American Addison; and possibly Sir Richard has given some of his days and nights to our great English master of elegance of diction. But now Sir Richard Temple, with his vast experience in the world, and varied acquirements, must become the consummate politician. Politics, he knows well, are, like geology, a science of progress; and he will soon again enter the grand arena of Parliament with many countries engraved on his banner; but more legibly than any of the others should be India, his loved country, the old land of his adoption, for which he worked so well, and which gave him so much of his name and fame; and, be it in the cause of education or of railway extension, or contending with Russia in the East, he must bravely fight for the interests of the most splendid dominion under the sun!

"A traveller!" says Rosalind in *As You Like It*. Jaques replies,—"Yes, I have gained my experience." And few men have gained more travelling experience than Sir Richard Temple. Since his return from India, we believe he has travelled in more countries than any other Anglo-Indian on record—in Russia, Egypt, Turkey, Greece, Palestine, Spain, Norway, Canada, and the United States, besides some of the commonly visited countries on the Continent of Europe. In India he was so ubiquitous, that he obtained for himself the character of a "ubiquitous centaur," to which he was eminently entitled from "his adventures on horseback, the rapidity with which he moved

from place to place, the ugly country he thought nothing of traversing, and the distance accomplished." In other quarters, as will have been seen, he was equally ubiquitous. As it did with Shakspeare in the Drama, so it was with the *Burra Sahib* (Great Master), Richard Temple; for really it seemed as if "panting Time toiled after him in vain!"

The writer of the excellent sketch in the *World* says, after alluding to his "varied experience," and "versatile talent"—"The demands of public duty have taken him to every part of the Indian Empire: from Tibet to Ceylon; from the Khyber Pass to the frontier of Ava; from the valley of Assam to the city of Candahar. For he has served, with one exception, in every province of India. He was employed by Lord Lytton's orders in constructing the railway from the Indus towards the Afghan frontier, during the war of 1878–79. This line ran for many miles through a waterless desert." It was carried to the Bolan Pass by Sir Richard. He was also employed in dispatching troops from Bombay to Malta in 1878, sending off six thousand men and two thousand horses in the wonderfully short space of thirteen days, a fact which signally proves the maritime resources of the great and rising port of Bombay. But it also proves the vast energy of the Governor and sender; and did a few such Temples adorn the history of some of our Eastern campaigns, we should shine brighter on the page than we do at present.

The writer in the *World* informs us that "one of the most interesting topics of his conversation concerning India is his analytical view of the official character of the Governors-General Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Sir John Lawrence, and Lord Mayo, and of other men of mark in India. Of Sir John Lawrence he can speak, of course, with special authority, from having been his secretary in the Punjab; and never did a Governor possess a more able lieutenant." Another writer informs us that, in 1868, he became foreign secretary to the great Sir John Lawrence, following that up by undertaking the arduous posts of Financial Minister and Member of Council to Lord Mayo,* varying the routine

* "From the years 1868 to 1874 he occupied the offices, first of Foreign Secretary, and then of Financial Minister and Member of Council to Sir John Lawrence and Lord Mayo."—*The World.*

of official life by performing the duties of Secretary to the Order of the Star of India, [illegible] the advantages he [illegible] Secretary to James Wilson (of the [illegible] and Samuel Laing, M.P., who were both Finance Ministers of India.

Politics now appear under so many names and distinctions, that it is really difficult sometimes to know what to call a statesman or an M.P. but Sir Richard, although a Conservative, is decidedly an advanced politician; in our humble opinion, the most sensible of all. We read that he was strenuous in his endeavours to obtain for the natives of Bombay, in the University, the boon of scientific education, which met with considerable opposition. He also inaugurated self or muncipal election, in Calcutta among the natives, for which they have now, and will have in time to come, strong reasons to bless his name. There was a bust of him at the Royal Academy in 1881, and also "a well executed model by Brock for a statue of him as Governor of Bombay" in the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1884. We daresay, even at his Elizabethan sanctuary of the Nash, or at Hampstead, or among the varieties of London life, he sometimes wishes himself back in India, "the observed of all observers," as he used to be on the Poona race-course, drawn by a team of beautiful horses, to see the running for the Governor's cup, "competed for by Arabians."

With regard to Sir Richard Temple's governing powers, it may be said:—In these days of hard criticism on Lieutenant-Governors and Governors in India, if Sir Richard Temple, during an important part of his Indian career, did not display good government, we should much like to know where good government is to be found. He governed in most exceptional times, and under most trying circumstances, and in every great emergency he appeared to be the right man in the right place. Leave alone the talent, the well directed and almost supernatural energy of the man, especially during the grievous famines, was enough to cover any short-comings, if they were observable, in his governing qualities. No sensible man ever said, as is too much the custom at the present day, "Sir Richard was a

[illegible] exhibits the famous speech of Lady Macbeth continually kept in mind—

> "But screw your courage to the sticking place,
> And we'll not fail."

There may have been Governors in India, or of Bombay, of greater administrative ability,* in the highest sense of the term; but we doubt if any of them can show such an amount of good and useful work, in the same time, as Sir Richard Temple. At the lowest estimate, he can only be placed after such stars of India as Sir Thomas Munro of Madras, Mountstuart Elphinstone of Bombay, the Lawrences and Sir Robert Montgomery of the Punjab. No doubt, Sir Richard Temple recently perused with regret the announcement, in a Native-edited and an Indian planters' paper, respectively, that some late Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, and a Governor of Madras (all men of great ability, varied experience and versatile talent), had proved failures, which, after all, as moralists tell us, are only "the stepping stones to success." The difficulty of pleasing every one in such high and responsible positions is so manifest as to be beyond all question. The slightest flaw in a Governor is at once seized on and remembered, and the work of establishing himself in public favour has all to be done over again. The good he has done for them and the Government is forgotten. A Mahomedan journal, *The Muslim Herald*, while citing the late Lord Mayo as a model of a Governor-General, ably remarks on this subject; saying that there are "thoughtful Natives," who are ever ready to condemn any statesman, however clever and however business-like he may be, "should he deviate the least from the lines of policy laid down by them for his conduct." It is truly absurd. In all the above instances the ability is fully allowed; in one case of the Lieutenant-Governors, that of a distinguished Anglo-Indian, it is considered exceptional, with "remarkable strength of will;" while the Madras Governor is justly

* Perhaps Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, or Sir Bartle Frere and his distinguished senior, Sir George Russell Clerk, a record of whose brilliant services will be found in Appendix VII.

credited with being "a ripe scholar, a cultured gentleman, a clear-headed politician, a fluent speaker, a ready and effective debater." The supposed failures as an administrator, in many cases, is almost as trivial as those of Beau Brummel's valet, who, on being met coming downstairs with a dozen or two of cravats in a basket, and being asked what they were, quickly replied, "These are our failures, Sir!"*

Let us return to the subject of our sketch, with whom the word "failure" was, for any length of time, simply impossible. His energy and tact were always the safeguard against such a calamity. The paper from "Celebrities at Home," to the author of which we are much indebted, concludes with the following graceful tribute to the character of Sir Richard Temple:—"Although he has, during nearly the whole course of his life, been placed in positions of great authority and responsibility, it may be said that he has enjoyed the rare fortune of never making an enemy, a fact which is undoubtedly due to his unvarying sense of justice, and to his kindliness of heart."

Such numerous high qualifications, every candid man must feel assured, eminently fit Sir Richard for the high post he holds in the London School-Board, of which, he was elected Vice-Chairman in December, 1885. Everybody knows that Lord Lawrence of the Punjab, was the first Chairman of this great Educational body for our modern Babylon; and his picture now adorns their walls. His former lieutenant in India is now occupying a high position therein; and, of course, the Herculean power, wielded by one of whom we have been so pleased to treat, is ever ready to "aid the right and check the wrong." Abject poverty, or "chill penury," in the dirty alleys and back-slums of London, stalking or darting like a spectre through the masses, and causing the wretchedness which abounds, and which missionary and general philanthropy can only in a small degree alleviate, doubtless, in the great battle raging against popular ignorance, has occupied Sir Richard's attention, with reference to the fee question (almost as difficult to

* This little anecdote is, perhaps, better known to the past generation than the present.

salve as the Irish or the Eastern). We trust that, in the generosity of his heart, and which seems to us the only way of getting out of the "sair-won penny fee"* difficulty, some means may be found to decide, as recommended by a "certificated mistress," that hard-working, decent people, who cannot find enough bread for their children, should have *free schooling as long as their poverty lasts.* Anyway, in the case of Sir Richard Temple, it does strike one as a pleasing coincidence, a distinguished Anglo-Indian, who had been employed in the East to succour tens or hundreds of thousands suffering from lack of food, being now engaged in solving the problem of so many thousands in the metropolis of his own country suffering from lack of food, as well as perishing from lack of knowledge. In "The New House of Commons,"† it is written that Sir Richard is quite a young man, as politicians go, only just sixty; and that "his resemblance to Napoleon the Third used to be considered remarkable." We are also informed that he was educated at Rugby and Haileybury. With reference to his resemblance to the third Napoleon, it may also be said that in his career he sometimes mentally resembles the first, or Napoleon *le Grand*, as described by Lord Byron—

> "Whose spirit, antithetically mixed,
> One moment of the mightiest, and again
> On little objects with like firmness fixed."

But, unlike "the greatest, nor the worst of men," he was not "extreme in all things!" His energy and bravery in India (for it required as much bravery to act vigorously during the famines as to storm the deadly breach) would almost seem to warrant his being styled a second, or an Anglo-Indian, Richard Cœur de Lion—forming a splendid example to all those young men who are seeking to enter the noble Civil Service to which he belonged, of a hero who ever had "Excelsior" inscribed on his banner, and who knew, in playing his great part, all the secrets of climbing successfully "the steep," at the summit of which Fame enshrines

* Burns.

† "Mems about Members," *Pall Mall Gazette* Office, London, 1886.

all her sons who, in working for [illegible] gained imperishable [illegible]

Should our readers [illegible] wish to know more about Sir [illegible] works, they will [illegible] tions:—"Men and Events of My [illegible] This work, though [illegible] experienced readers a precise idea of his career in India. "India in 1880" (Murray, 1880, third edition), gives full his opinions about that country. "Oriental Experience" (Murray, 1883), and "Cosmopolitan Essays" (Chapman, 1886), give Sir Richard's ideas about the East generally, and their prefaces show the several associations with which he has been connected in England.* His preface to the second edition of "Stanford's Asia" (Keene, 1886), states further his opinion about Asia generally. While we write, Sir Richard has in the press (W. H. Allen and Co., Waterloo Place), "Journals in Hyderabad and Kashmir, edited by Captain R. C. Temple, with maps, chromo-lithographs, and other illustrations from sketches by the author."

NOTES.

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THE EMPRESS OF INDIA, 1876.

In the *London Gazette* of Friday, April 28, appeared "By the Queen—A Proclamation," from which the subjoined is an extract:—The following addition shall be made to the Style and Titles at present appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies; that is to say:—"In the Latin tongue in these words, 'Indiæ Imperatrix.' And in the English tongue in these words, 'Empress of India.'"—In the Persian this is translated, *Kaisar-i-Hind.*

* We should have mentioned that Sir Richard Temple served on the Council of the Royal Geographical Society and the British Association, and delivered a Presidential address at the Social Science Congress.

"INDIA VISITED."

THE above is the title of a little "Narrative in Rhyme," written by *Viator* about the beginning of 1876, from which it may be interesting to make a few extracts. As introductory, it may be stated that the Viceroy of India (Lord Northbrook), and Sir Salar Jung, Prime Minister to the Nizam (*lit.* in Persian "putter in order)," as well as upwards of forty princes and chiefs, arrived at Bombay, November 2, to meet the Prince of Wales. His Royal Highness arrived at Bombay in the *Serapis* on Monday, November 8, 1875, and was received by upwards of seventy Indian Princes and nobles, amidst tremendous enthusiasm (see journals of the day). Indra, the far-famed Hindu god of the elements, is supposed to be addressing a council of gods on Mount Meru, one of the two hemispheres named by orthodox Hindus, and an "enchanting spot."—

> Indra, their chief, the lord of all the sky,
> With bright train of good spirits floating by,

says, in a spirit of what Canning would have styled "universal philanthropy."

> "'Tis wonderful! This visit must convince
> Us all of good-will: thus to send her Prince,
> Great Britain's Queen consults our India's good,
> And well deserves our heartfelt gratitude!
> In our distress, too—Bengal famine sore—
> Britain showered blessings at our very door,
> Till plenty came, as if by magic hand,
> Making Bengal once more a smiling land!'
> So Indra spoke: the god of seasons then,
> Exulting, loud proclaim'd the giant men—
> Great Northbrook, Campbell, Temple, who had done
> Work rarely equall'd underneath the sun!
> At which the Council, with a gen'rous heart,
> Prepared, with smiling faces, to depart."

The following lines may be also quoted from the "Narrative," since, ten years later, Upper Burma, the Golden Foot's dominion, has become ours. We are preparing to exterminate Dacoity in November, and resolving to make the best of the Pekin Convention.

The subject is the "worn editor, who

> "Sighs for lands,
> Where not at ninety-two the mercury stands!
> . . . . . .

A mighty field of politics his range—
He's ever running down 'the grooves of change;'
And, as he lives, he sees the more and more,
Coming events their shadows cast before:
When Burma, China's vassal, seeks to fight,
As to the Golden Foot seems wrong or right;
While Russia Central Asia commands,
Taking choice bits from out all others' hands;
Then Britain, still exulting in her pride—
'I'll hold my own!' she cries—'Take all beside!'" *

Another brief sketch is that of the "travel-seeking" M.P.,—having seen so much of the world, hardly likely again to be the case with Sir Richard Temple. India, for intelligent men as well as for idlers, is becoming the rage; and we are glad to see that M.P.'s and others in high place are freely taking short runs there, if not for duty, at least for change and amusement. Some years back, it may be remembered that a famous M.P., who, having distinguished himself in the India Office, visited the old country, and had written a book thereon, afterwards gained an eminent position in India, was, when addressing his electors, in the habit of, "with extensive view," surveying "mankind from China to Peru." After relating all the chief visits, from Vasco de Gama downwards, the Council poet, confronting Indra and his brethren, says,—

"Now, turn we for a moment, Muse! to see
The travel-seeking, over-worked, M.P.,
A visitor, whose comprehensive soul
Looks o'er the world, and understands the whole!
Among important topics, not the least,
Are Indian tea, and Russia in the East!"

There are other Indian topics of utility and interest, however, which will probably occupy the attention of Members, in the next session of Parliament.

HAILEYBURY AND COMPETITION.

The subject of Haileybury *versus* competition is again beginning to occupy public attention; and it has been said

* The Earl of Derby, with a smack of the old Athenian eloquence, said at Liverpool, October 8th, 1875: *We want nothing, and we fear nothing.* May this be ever true concerning India! In the case of Burma, however, we *did* want something; and eventually *we* annexed Upper Burma, which was *the only possible way* of keeping up our prestige in Eastern Asia. Possibly, *Viator* had this near view in his "poet's eye" when he penned the ambiguous words—"Take all *beside!*"—

that there are many reasons for doubting whether the latter system is altogether perfect. We shall leave it to more able writers to discuss this matter, which is a very important one. But it may be remarked that, during our future progress in India, it is far from likely that occurrences will ever again arise which called forth the energies and the genius of our most distinguished Anglo-Indians; just as in Europe, we shall probably never again have another Wellington or Nelson, because there will never be another Waterloo or Trafalgar. Steady, well-educated, hard-working men of PROGRESS are the "crying want" of India now!

Twenty-eight years ago, we read, the first competitive examinations for the Civil Service of India were held in London. From the year 1856, till 1884, these examinations were held annually (as at present), with slight modifications, on the same system, and the result was then, that about 88 per cent. of the whole Civil Service of India was composed of the officers so selected. Haileybury (1884) claimed only 12 per cent., or 118 in all. Truly, the chiefs of other times are departing; but, in Ossianic phrase, other green leaves in India, if not in "woody Morven," are always ready to lift their proud heads on high!

GENERAL SIR DONALD STEWART, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.

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It would almost seem as if such a military "divinity doth hedge" a Commander-in-Chief, and has done so from the days of Jehu, as to make it something like presumption, or a breach of the Articles of War, even to cite a sketch of his successful career. In India "mighty men" have held the high position, from Clive to Roberts, occasionally combining the most important civil with great military powers. And many of them have been sincere lovers of sport as well as duty. Some have eagerly pursued the wild boar, killed their elk or sambre, and shot their tiger with as much ability as they displayed in commanding an army on service; while men among them have had surprising conversational powers, considerable literary skill, and a dash of humour to make life's often tedious journey as pleasant as possible. Commanding "the fighting army of the world," its head must ever be a very great personage; and his name becomes, in the mouths of loyal and intelligent Hindus and Mahomedans, "familiar as household words." In even a greater degree, this latter remark is also applicable to the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay, who, as well as the chief of the Indian army, have ever the eyes of frequently sage and discriminating Oriental critics upon them. We have alluded to surprising or brilliant conversational powers. These would appear to be not very uncommon among intellectual military men who, like Captain Sentry in the *Spectator*, can boast of a life spent in the ups and downs of martial adventures. And they appear with really good

grace in those who have honourably risen in "the nursery of Captains." There is a strange fallacy among some people that, as a rule, military men can talk about little except their profession. The leviathan of English literature and conversation, Dr. Johnson, thought otherwise. During their famous "Tour to the Hebrides," Boswell tells us they talked of Sir Adolphus Oughton, and a Major of Engineers said he knew a great deal for a military man. "JOHNSON: 'Sir, you will find few men, of any profession, who know more. Sir Adolphus is a very extraordinay man; a man of boundless curiosity and unwearied diligence.'" This was written just one hundred years ago; and it may now be safely said, without the latter qualities in a very considerable degree, no officer can be a first-rate Commander-in-Chief in India. Sir Charles Napier possessed them in an eminent degree. His very nose, like that of his great master the Iron Duke, whom he so ably served in the Peninsula, seemed to have more intelligence about it than could be found in the brains of ordinary men; and he looked into everything, and saw everything for himself. After he sent the immortal "Peccavi,"* some years before his appointment as Commander-in-Chief (which he did not obtain till March, 1849), Sir Charles seemed to be everywhere in Sind at the same time. He was equally at home in writing a book, lecturing an apothecary—probably ushered in by the portentous order, "Bring me that apothecary!"—soothing and cheering the sick and the dying, when the cholera was raging in Kurrachee, in a manner worthy of the hero of Meeanee and the conqueror of Sind (1843); varying his military and administrative labours by writing an order to the effect that furious riding would not be allowed in cantonments, and if gentlemen and beggars were resolved to ride to the devil, they had no right to send other people there!

Truly, in spite of a very few indiscretions, inseparable from such a wonderful career, there was excellent material in Sir Charles James Napier to make an admirable Commander-in-Chief. One grand merit he possessed, which covers a multitude of sins, and is not generally known; he

* *Punch's* telegram of the day.

had a strong love for his soldiers, and kept a strict eye on their rights. Upwards of thirty years ago an interesting letter appeared in the papers, in reference to the last moments of "the late Sir Charles Napier," written by his relative, Major M'Murdo. It conveys the dying words of the deceased veteran to soldiers whom he loved: "I took my sword," said Sir Charles, "at eleven years of age, and I now sheath it at seventy-two with honour. I have never stained it by a mean or dishonourable action, or by a desire to use it for my own aggrandisement. I have served my country zealously and honestly, but my chief aim was to protect the poor soldier. I may have to reproach myself for some things, but not for my regard for the soldier's welfare. Tell them that, Montagu, who have followed me. Yet even in this I had to check myself, lest my bitter, bitter enemies might say I courted popularity. I never courted popularity with the soldiers; I only strove for their rights."

Another great virtue in an Indian Commander-in-Chief was conspicuous in Sir Charles Napier, that of insisting on the necessity for sufficient European officers for native troops. Without this wise caution being strictly attended to, the native army of India will never uphold its old glory; and all attempts to the contrary will prove a delusion and a snare. After the brilliant victory at Meeanee against overwhelming odds, the conqueror wrote to Lord Ellenborough: —"The want of European officers in the native regiments at one period endangered the success of the action." And so will many actions in days to come be either endangered or lost, if we fail, in spite of all red-tape or ignorant opposition, to keep our native regiments up to the requisite strength in European officers. Doubtless this and similar questions of efficiency have for upwards of forty years fully occupied the attention of our Commanders-in-Chief in India, of whom we have a goodly list of brave, zealous, and distinguished men. Three of them (including Sir Frederick Roberts) who rose in the old Company's service, have belonged to the Bengal Engineers, the Bengal Native Infantry, and the Bengal Artillery.

The first, Lord Napier of Magdala,* proved himself to be a chief of boundless curiosity and unwearied diligence, and never above little things, without which there can be no great things in the science of war. The second, Sir Donald Stewart, the former ensign of Bengal Infantry, whose tale, through the aid of the *Pioneer*, is about to be unfolded, is a remarkable instance of "Excelsior" in the military life. It is, perhaps, only to be equalled in interest by the fact of an ensign of the Madras Native Infantry, when a young subaltern, resigning the service, determined to use "heavenly weapons" only, and fight other "battles," and through piety, unwearied industry, and devotion to his duties, becoming the present Lord Bishop of Lichfield. Truly, we may all say with Shakspeare, "We know what we are, but know not what we may be!" The *Pioneer*, for many years the principal journal of the North-West Provinces, and the excellence of whose articles reminds one of John Lang's writings in the *Moffussilite*, those of Dr. Buist in the *Bombay Times*, and of John Marshman in the *Friend of India*, well remarked at the end of last year (1885), that "now and again it becomes plain that a man of merit, without family influence or official interest, may hope to attain to the very highest eminence. Our departing Commander-in-Chief, Sir Donald Stewart, is a striking example of this, and his career may stimulate every young officer who has cast in his lot with the Indian Army to follow his profession with enthusiasm, and not to look upon soldiering as merely a certain road to the pension list."

The following sketch of the career of our distinguished Anglo-Indian is written with great care and ability, and, in the present form, it may prove highly acceptable to the officers of the Indian Army:—

Ensign Stewart's name first appeared in the *Gazette* of

* There is a little anecdote regarding the effect which this high sounding title had upon the Madras Governor, the excellent and highly esteemed descendant of the inventor of Logarithms—the present Lord Napier and Ettrick. When hearing of Sir Robert Napier's becoming Lord Napier of Magdala, after the successful Abyssinian Campaign—"Lord Napier of what?" asked the astonished Governor.

October 12th, 1840, and in March of the following year he joined the old 9th Bengal infantry, his age being then just seventeen years. Ensign Stewart became a lieutenant in 1844, and a captain ten years later, and the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 found him in command of a company of the 9th Bengal Infantry at Aligarh. He had seen some guerilla warfare on the North-West Frontier, and had been "mentioned in despatches," but he had been in no important actions. There seemed at that time no particular likelihood of the young soldier pursuing a career in any way different from that of the mass of his fellows; but the Mutiny, which gave so many good men their chance, gave Captain Stewart his also, and he was not slow to seize it. After the Mutiny of his regiment at Aligarh he made his way to Agra, then the headquarters of the North-West Government, only to learn that communication was cut off between Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the force massed about Delhi. Captain Stewart made up his mind to proceed to Delhi, although the country was swarming with mutinous sepoys, his aim being to get active employment as soon as possible, his own regiment having cast in its lot with the mutineers. It was a perilous adventure to undertake, as British authority had ceased to exist beyond gunshot of the lines which our troops held, and a less enterprising man would have been content to await events at Agra and share in the defence of the fort there. Captain Stewart, however, was bent upon reaching the only British army then in the field to the north, and he made known his resolve to Mr. Colvin. The latter did not try to dissuade him from his enterprise, and was glad to intrust him with important despatches, Agra being the link between Delhi and the headquarters of the Government at Calcutta. The ride from Agra to Delhi proved as exciting and dangerous a one as had been anticipated. Captain Stewart was lucky enough to find on the way a companion in Mr. Ford, a civilian, who had two good horses; and, with their lives in their hands, the pair made their way towards the British lines outside Delhi. They had many hairbreadth escapes; on one occasion putting up in a village where some mutineers were actually

encamped, and only being saved from capture by the loyalty of the tehsildar, who smuggled them out and directed them as to the safest road. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Delhi they found the enemy's pickets and patrols on every side, and but for the services of a native guide—a budmash who wiped away his past sins by faithfully guiding the two Englishmen—they would probably have been captured. They, indeed, came across a hostile patrol, but by boldly riding at the enemy got past them, the latter not knowing who might be behind the two strangers. The British lines were at last reached in safety, and the all-important despatches delivered. Captain Stewart had accomplished his dangerous mission in a way that could not fail to win approbation, and he was immediately given an appointment on the Staff. As deputy-assistant-adjutant-general he served throughout the siege and capture of Delhi, the capture of Lucknow, and the Rohilkund campaign, until on December 30th, 1857, he was transferred as assistant-adjutant-general to army headquarters. A brevet majority, given in the following month, was his immediate reward for Mutiny services, and a second brevet (lieutenant-colonel) came later in the year. Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart elected to join the Staff Corps on the reorganisation of the Native Army, and remained at headquarters until 1867, becoming deputy-adjutant-general in 1862. His experience of office work proved very useful to him in his after-career, and did not militate against his prospects of active employment in the field, for on the Abyssinian Expedition being sent from India in 1867 he was given the command of a brigade. He acquitted himself so well that he was decorated with the C.B. at the close of the expedition. It was due to his sagacity that the plan of sending each regiment thoroughly equipped with transport and stores on the ship to which it was told off was here for the first time adopted. Each unit of the force was thus independent as regarded mobility from the rest, and could on landing be sent on at once without waiting for vessels carrying transport animals, ammunition, stores, &c. This system has always been adopted since that time, and has been found to give the best results

Brigadier-General Stewart returned to India from Abyssinia and took up for a short time the command of the Peshawur Brigade, but had to vacate in December, 1868, on promotion to major-general. There was a gap then in his military career, but he soon found civil employment in the governorship of the penal settlement at the Andamans, where he effected many useful reforms, and paved the way for the introduction of the new system under which convicts under "life sentences" are released at the end of twenty years, provided they do not belong to the professional criminal classes. The assassination of Lord Mayo in December, 1871—a catastrophe which threw gloom over all India—was the one event which occurred in Sir Donald Stewart's career which seemed likely to check his further advancement. No good purpose can be served by entering now into the question of responsibility; that personal blame was not attached to the Governor of the settlement may be considered as proved by after-events, for in April, 1876, Major-General Stewart was posted to the command of the Mecan Meer Division, thus being brought again on the establishment. His promotion to a divisional command at this juncture was most opportune. Our relations with Shere Ali were very much strained, and in 1878 it became clear that our best soldiers would be needed for a campaign in Afghanistan. Lieutenant-General Stewart (he had been promoted to this rank in October, 1877,) was selected to command the Southern Field Force destined to capture Candahar, and he carried out that part of the programme intrusted to him with marked ability and success. The columns under Sir Sam Browne and General Roberts, operating in the Kyber and in Kurram respectively, had to advance but a short distance beyond the frontier before their first objective was reached; but the Southern column had to labour through the Bolan and over the Khojak, then without a road worthy of the name, before they could be said to have entered an enemy's country. The transport difficulties were enormous, and the sufferings of the troops unusually great; but Candahar was captured without serious resistance being attempted, so well was the force

kept up to its work. General Stewart showed marked political ability in securing the pacification of Southern Afghanistan, and British authority was soon respected as far west as the Helmund and as far north as Kelat-i-Ghilzai. His policy was not to subvert all existing authority, but to use every official he found in power who showed willingness to serve him honestly and loyally. The people were thus not harried or unduly interfered with, and soon accepted the new order of things. In the second phase of the war, the effect of the outbreak at Cabul, resulting in Cavagnari's murder, was not felt in any marked way in Southern Afghanistan, General Stewart's hold upon the country being too firm for rebellion against his authority to make any headway. When it was determined to overawe more completely the warlike tribes of the north, the Bengal troops at Candahar were ordered to march by way of Ghazni to Cabul, Candahar being made over to a division from the Bombay Presidency. General Stewart accordingly turned his face northwards, and his force was for some weeks lost to sight, only to reappear after the actions of Ahmed Khel and Urzoo had been fought, and so severe a lesson given to the local tribesmen that they would not rally even at the stronghold of Ghazni. A junction was effected with the Cabul Field Force at Maidan, and thus the march of an army, absolutely detached from its base and from all communication with the outside world, was accomplished with small loss, though every mile from Kelat-i-Ghilzai was through an enemy's country, with gatherings of armed men menacing every flank. This successful movement to the north was overshadowed some months later by Sir Frederick Roberts's historical march with 10,000 men from Cabul to Candahar, and consequently but scanty justice was done to Sir Donald Stewart; but unquestionably it was a great achievement to have moved an army, hampered with a siege train, steadily forward through the length of Eastern Afghanistan until its objective was reached, in spite of the marked hostility of the inhabitants of the country.

Arrived at Cabul, Sir Donald Stewart assumed supreme command of the forces in Afghanistan, and set about work-

ing out the problem of the succession to the Ameership. The political situation was far from promising, but it was simplified by Abdul Rahman's appearance upon the scene, and a settlement was eventually effected which has so far stood the test of time, though there were not wanting those who gloomily foretold a catastrophe with the withdrawal of the British troops from Cabul. Sir Donald Stewart's personal influence was an important factor in all political negociations with the Afghans: their respect for his astuteness and keenness of perception and his knowledge of the Asiatic character, was only equalled by their fear of his firmness and determination. In Southern Afghanistan his departure was soon followed by active intrigues on the part of Ayoob Khan's partisans; and just when the settlement at Cabul was approaching a conclusion, the storm burst about the Candahar garrison. Maiwand was a disaster which no one had foreseen, and its effects were immediately felt in all the country south of Ghazni. It became necessary to break Ayoob's power and relieve Candahar, otherwise Abdul Rahman's tenure of the Ameership would have been a very short one; and the Cabul army was destined to furnish the force which was to wipe out the disgrace of Maiwand. Sir Donald Stewart, with characteristic unselfishness, waived his right to command an expedition which was one of the first importance in the war, and contented himself with the less showy task of retiring the troops from Northern Afghanistan to Peshawur. This was done without a shot being fired, the disposition which he made of the men under his command proving to the tribesmen from Luttaband to Jamrud that to interfere with the movement would be merely courting prompt and severe punishment. The march to India was so orderly and quiet that the evacuation of the country had no evil results. As our troops retired, the new Ameer's officials took over the various posts, and Abdul Rahman's authority was everywhere acknowledged.

This was the end of Sir Donald Stewart's active service. He had well earned the highest rewards which could be bestowed, for his military and political services in the war had been

of the greatest value to the Government, and he had met with no reverse from the time he crossed the Indus until his return by way of Cabul to Peshawur. What his rewards were is well known: he received the thanks of Parliament, his Sovereign bestowed the Grand Cross of the Bath, and he was created a baronet, to say nothing of the gift from a grateful country of £12,500. But the army of Afghanistan, numbering at one time over 60,000 men, was now broken up, and there was no further active service offering. Sir Donald Stewart was not, however, to retire at once into the ranks of the "unemployed": his ability and experience claimed recognition, and in October 1880 he took his seat in the Governor-General's Council as Military member. Six months later he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, the selection being applauded as an excellent one in every way and a fitting compliment to the Indian army which had fought so well in Afghanistan.*

Sir Donald Stewart returned to England in December, 1885, and soon after took his seat in the Secretary of State's Council, where, it was said, his great talents and long experience would still be at the service of his country and of India. He certainly "won the warmest regard and admiration of Lord Dufferin"—in some respects a duplicate of the great Lord Dalhousie—"who was able to say in bidding him farewell that he had found him, in presence of great anxieties and responsibilities, a colleague in whose sagacity, calmness, experience, and loyalty he could place implicit confidence." What finer qualities need be found in a Commander-in-Chief in India?

* *Pioneer.*

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM HILL, K.C.S.I.

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Major (afterwards Major-General) P. J. Begbie commences his "History of the Services of the Madras Artillery, with a Sketch of the Rise of the Power of the East India Company in Southern India," &c., by drawing attention to the important fact that each of the various wars, during the progress of the British from a handful of factors to a gigantic power, has found a chronicler; and before giving a sketch of the Company's power at Madras (from 1600), the author modestly declares that his work embraces but a small component part of that army, which, originating in a few gunners' crews and factory guards, has in the course of about two centuries swollen to "that gigantic and well-disciplined host, known as the Company's Army." It is interesting to note that on two occasions—at a century's interval—the Madras portion of it bore a distinguished part in retrieving the fallen fortunes of the Bengal Presidency.

Sir William Hill, then, belonged to the famous old Madras or Coast army, which has given England so many hard-working and distinguished soldiers in the East; men such as Mark Cubbon, Low, Doveton, Cameron, Macleod, Cotton, Fraser, Steel, Williams, Dake, Carpenter, Apthorp ("Tiger"), Bird, Noble, Anstruther, Macintire, and others who occupy an honoured place among our eminent Anglo-Indians. Sir William entered the Madras army as ensign in 1821; and with his famous regiment, the 1st Madras Fusiliers—of Arcot and Plassey celebrity—served with the expedition to Burma in 1824-25. He was present at the taking of Rangoon, 11th May, at the assault on the Kem-

mendine stockades, 10th and 11th June, on the seven stockades of Kummarool, 8th July, under Major-General Macbean; at the reduction of fortified posts up the Dallah Creek in September, at the defence of Kemmendine from 1st to 9th December, 1824, when attacked by a force of 7,000 men; accompanied the advance of Brigadier-General Cotton up the Irawadi River, 16th February, 1825; at the assault and escalade of Panlang on 19th February, 1825, at the first attack of Donabew 7th March, and in various affairs with the enemy between 7th March and 2nd April, 1825, when Donabew, having been worsted for three days, was evacuated. He received the India medal for Ava. Sir William also served in the second Burmese War, 1852-53, in which he gained his chief distinction. He commanded the storming party at the taking of Pegu Pagoda on 21st November, 1852; also, as Major Hill, commanded the garrison of Pegu, when it was invested by a large Burman force, from 5th December to 14th December, 1852, when the garrison was relieved by a force under the personal command of Major-General Godwin, C.B., commanding the forces. He served also in affairs with the enemy between 4th and 8th January, 1853, at Pegu. In addition to the medal for the second war, a clasp was given for Pegu, to which, perhaps, the gallant major was more entitled than any other officer. The Governor-General wrote a letter to Major Hill, offering him the best military command at the time available, that of the Gwalior Contingent; and in January, 1856, we find him appointed brigadier commanding the Hyderabad contingent, a high appointment, also in the gift of the Governor-General. He commanded the Nizam's Contingent during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, was engaged against Tantia Topee, and reduced nine forts at the village of Chiskamba, for which he received two medals. He became a Colonel in the Army in 1859, retired as Major-General on 31st December, 1861, and was appointed a Knight Commander of the Star of India in May, 1867. He died at Southsea on 20th August, 1886, at the ripe age of eighty.

The remains of Major-General Sir William Hill, K.C.S.I., were deposited in Kensal Green Cemetery on 26th August,

after a funeral service at St. James's Church, Paddington. The late Sir William was son of the Honourable Daniel Hill, Member of Council in Antigua, by Annie, daughter of Mr. Anthony Wyke, Governor of Montserrat, and was born in 1805. He married Sybella, daughter of Colonel G. Philpotts, Royal Engineers."

His varied public life, whether at work as regimental officer, judge-advocate, commandant of a besieged fortress, or of an efficient and splendid Contingent, was admirable in many respects. Sir William Hill was in truth a zealous officer and worthy man, not in words only, but in deeds, and possessing that kind and noble spirit of charity which he used discreetly, and without which, according to St. Paul's grand "Marching Orders,"* other qualifications "profit" us "nothing." And we all know and feel, when thinking over the use of honour and reputation, freely granted in a greater or lesser degree to distinguished men in these pages, that our own great philosophical essayist† is right when he affirms that "the winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage."

NOTES.

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GENERAL WILLIAM CULLEN, M.A.,

Resident at Travancore.

In addition to the several distinguished names brought forward in the above brief sketch, as adorning the army to which Sir William Hill belonged, that of General Cullen —to whom, as a brother officer, or to "Lieutenant-General William Cullen," the author of the "Services of the Madras

* The illustrious Duke of Wellington, "The Iron Duke," used this phrase on one occasion to a missionary who rather demurred about proceeding to an unhealthy station to carry on his work:—"Look, sir, to your marching orders—'Go and preach the Gospel to *every* creature!'" The missionary withdrew in silence, doubtless "a sadder and a wiser man."

† Bacon.

Artillery," dedicates his book—is well worthy of being mentioned. In fact, for variety of field of action, his is one of the most remarkable careers on record. He began his field service in the year in which Nelson won Trafalgar, and was still a fighting officer when Wellington won Waterloo. To give a few details: He served in the field in Candeish and Berar with the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force in 1805-6; commanded a brigade of 6-pounders with the 2nd Cavalry and 7th N.I., under Captain H. Scott, at the surprise of a large body of Mahrattas in 1806, capturing four guns and their baggage; with the expedition against the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon in 1810; was present at the attack and capture of St. Denis, island of Bourbon, 9th July, 1810; served with the force employed against Kurnool, and was present at its submission in December, 1815. The year we took Rangoon (1852) Colonel Cullen had an uninterrupted and honourable career of forty-eight years' service. After the first eventful ten years, he was selected by the Government to superintend the carrying out his own plans of affixing tangent scales to all the brass ordnance in the Madras Presidency, 644 pieces in number, "a scientific operation so imperfectly known, or, more strictly speaking, so entirely novel at that period," as to involve the necessity of his travelling from station to station to supervise the workmen. No sooner was this work concluded, than, in 1822, Cullen's ardent thirst for knowledge urged him on, at his own expense, to make his barometrical sections and levels in the Peninsula of India, "a most valuable contribution to the physical geography of the country."

Again, in his travels through Mysore, perceiving the thriftless and improvident way in which the teak forests were managed, he suggested an effectual remedy, both as to felling and transportation, which was adopted by the Government, and resulted in "a vast saving of expenditure to the State." Such a distinguished career leads the amiable author of the dedication on to say, that whether we contemplate General Cullen introducing reforms into the commissariat or audit offices, when he was placed at the head of these important departments; looking into and correcting the abuses which had crept into the mode of supplying hospital comforts to the sick European soldiery, or forage to the public cattle; remodelling the stud department, so as to substitute a superior race of horses for a rapidly degenerating breed; outstripping his brother artillerists in

the theory and practice of his profession by the immense improvements which he introduced when Superintendent of the Gun Carriage Manufactory; when, in short, we see him in all these responsible, and yet so "variously dissimilar," employments, bestowing his attention upon the most minute details, and crowning this long list by the talented way in which he had long exercised the functions of that high political post entrusted to his charge (Resident at Travancore), enjoying the confidence of Government and the esteem and affection of the natives, we recognise that "master mind," and that "unflagging energy," which, while they justly raised him to a high position, he exerted so much to the benefit of the Government and of the country at large. Such was William Cullen, an Anglo-Indian, of whom it may be said, like a true British soldier and statesman, he could go anywhere and do anything: or—the key to greatness with so many distinguished men—he could "laugh at impossibilities" and say, "It *must* be done!"

THE VICTORIA CROSS.

Looking back twenty years, there are three recipients of the Victoria Cross in the Madras Army List, one, Major H. N. D. Prendergast, of the Royal (Madras) Engineers, who distinguished himself in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, but better known to us, in 1886, as the late Chief of the Third Expedition to Burma, and now Knighted and a Lieut.-General. The others are Privates Thomas Duffy and J. Smith, of the Madras Fusiliers (102nd Regiment of Foot), who also distinguished themselves during the Sepoy Mutiny, the motto of their regiment being the one ever applicable to a really good corps, "Spectamur agendo!"

LORD DALHOUSIE'S AUTOGRAPH LETTER TO MAJOR HILL ON THE DEFENCE OF PEGU.

[The following remarks and letter will also be found at page 316 of "Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burma"]:—

The Author thinks it a fitting conclusion to a chapte containing remarks on Lord Dalhousie's policy, to presen his readers with a copy of the original letter forwarded by

the Governor-General to Major Hill, after the gallant defence of Pegu. This epistle by the great Pro-Consul and ready writer has never before been published; and it will be of additional interest at a time (1880) when "Isandula" and "Roorke's Drift" are fresh in the memories of all true Britons, showing that the British arms are always gallantly displayed in all ages. Such a letter also enhances the great importance Government attached to the defence:—

Government House,
July 19, 1853.

SIR,—It afforded me much satisfaction some months ago to offer to you, on behalf of the Government of India, an expression of the approbation with which it regarded your gallant defence of your post at Pegu against an overwhelming Burman force. I have still greater satisfaction now in having the means of proving the sincerity of the admiration which was expressed by rewarding the services which called it forth.

The command of the Gwalior Contingent is vacant. It comprises two regiments of cavalry, seven regiments of infantry, and four field batteries; its allowances are to be 2,000 rupees a month; its climate is excellent, and the position is altogether more coveted than any other which the Governor-General has to bestow.

If it should suit your views to accept this command, I shall feel a great and real pleasure in bestowing it upon you; and I beg you to regard the act as being at once a testimony to your distinguished personal merit, and a compliment to the gallant force you led so well, and a mark of respect to the Army of the Presidency to which you belong.

I would beg that if you should accept my offer, you will nevertheless remain in command of your corps, until final arrangements shall be made for the distribution of forces in Pegu after the monsoon.

Let me add that my selection of you for this command has not prevented my soliciting the consideration of the Honourable Court, and of Her Majesty Government, for the services of yourself and others at Pegu in marked and special terms.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) DALHOUSIE.

Major Hill, 1st Madras Fusiliers, Tonghoo.

SIR WILLIAM ANDREW, C.I.E.

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"HONOUR to the man who first through the impassable paves a road!" says Carlyle on Goethe; and, in a literal sense, the saying may be applied to the subject of our sketch. We might go further, and assert that what Goethe is in European literature, Sir William Andrew would seem to be in the projection and literature of Indian and Eastern railways.

One can imagine William Andrew, when a boy, evincing decided ubiquitous tendencies, moving about on his own lines with a slight incipient knowledge of levels and tunnels, to the occasional discomfort and anxiety of a fond parent or a cross nurse. Born in the country of strong or hard heads and strong logic, of course all entreaties on the subject of his wild wanderings—if really coupled with the desire of knowledge—would be met in the same spirit as the rebuke of Mrs. Muirhead to the scientific boy who became the first great improver of the steam-engine. "Jamie Watt, Jamie Watt!" said his amiable aunt, "what have you been glowerin' at the lid o' that boiling kettle for, an' no comin' to your tea? I wad hae thocht ye had mair sense!" James Watt, in after years, probably mused over this domestic scene, when, with Cavendish and other great men of the time, studying the composition of water, which, in its expansion as steam, has revolutionized mankind. The young wanderer among the Scottish hills and dales—although long before the "snort of the *Iron Horse*," or the locomotive of Stephenson, was heard in his country—probably gained from his stolen interviews with nature a rudimentary knowledge of transit *in esse*, which led him on as

an engineer to become the master-mind in the creation of numerous lines of railway; and, as a strategist, to study the utility and defence of these lines in the countries through which they might pass. The romance of youth—if ever any existed in such a practical nature—had now fairly given way to the stern consideration of companies, surveys, gradients, gauges, and rolling-stock, especially in the vast, and, as poets say, "delightful" provinces of the sun. If not to put a girdle round the world, well selected lines of railway for every purpose would serve quite as well in the grand universal aim of bringing "man nearer unto man."—Sir William Andrew's career commenced in this country more than forty years ago by the publication of "Indian Railways as connected with the power and stability of the British Empire in the East." The work was dedicated to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, who, with their usual wise discrimination, began to perceive that its author was one of the best engineers and strategists of the time. His engineering and strategic knowledge appeared to be remarkable; and with such gifts as he possessed—even at that period—it was thought that he would attain the great eminence on the subject of Eastern, and especially Indian railways, which he has now, in the face of opposition and controversy, unquestionably achieved. Our readers, we feel sure, will be glad to learn something, however incomplete, about the career of such a man, who, on the subjects of Asiatic railways, strategy, and kindred matters—to say nothing of early residence, and travel in the great country—has every right to be considered a distinguished scientific Anglo-Indian.

Towards the close of our work, in an introduction it may be well still to adopt, in some measure, the usual record style.

Sir William Andrew, C.I.E., of Saint Bernard's and Charlesfield, Midlothian. Knighted by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, and received the Companionship of the Order of the Indian Empire for his public services, January, 1882. Born in Aberdeenshire; educated at Edinburgh and Oxford. Married, first, his cousin Alice, younger daughter

of Captain Alexander Andrew, of Allington House, Devon (she died in 1840); secondly, 1843, Anne, eldest daughter of the late Henry Raeburn, Esq., of St. Bernards and Charlesfield, Midlothian, by Charlotte White, of Howden, Midlothian, and granddaughter of Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., of St. Bernards. Served in early life for a short period in India, and from the information there acquired was enabled, on his return to England, to submit to Government and the public those plans for the defence and improvement of India which have met with approval and support both in this country and in India. Founder and chairman of the Scinde, Punjaub, and Delhi Railway Company, which did good service during the Afghan War. Took an early and prominent part in promoting railway and telegraphic communication with India. Is author of several works including, "Indian Railways," by an old Indian Postmaster, 1846; "The Scinde Railway in relation to the Euphrates Valley and other routes to India;" Letter to Viscount Palmerston, K.G., on "The Political importance of the Euphrates Valley Railway;" "Telegraphic communication with India (letters reprinted from the *Times*)," 1856; "Memoir on the Euphrates Valley route to India;" "London to Lahore, or, the Euphrates, Scinde and Punjaub Railways;" "The Indian guarantee on Railways compared with the Foreign and Colonial (1857);" "Colonization in India and Australia compared;" "The Indus and its Provinces: their Political and Commercial Importance," 1858; "Letter to the Duke of Argyll on the completion of the railway system of the Valley of the Indus," 1869; "Letters to Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and India on the Euphrates Valley Railway;" "Lecture before the Society of Arts on Railways in India by guaranteed Companies," 1870; "Letters to the Grand Vizier of Turkey and the British Ambassador at Constantinople, &c., on the Euphrates route to India;" "Letters on the Euphrates Valley route to India, reprinted from the *Times*," 1871; "Paper read before the British Association at Brighton on the Euphrates Valley route to India," 1872; "Lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution on the Euphrates route to India in con-

nection with the Central Asian question," 1873; "The strategic and commercial evils of a break of gauge in India," 1874; "India and her Neighbours," 1878; "The Bolan and Khyber Railways;" "Paper read before the Society of Arts on the Euphrates route to India;" "Our Scientific Frontier," 1880; "Euphrates Valley route to India in connection with the Central Asian and Egyptian questions: Lecture delivered at the National Club," 1882; "Through-booking between the interior of India and the United Kingdom," 1883; "Indian Railways as connected with British Empire in the East," 1884; "The Advance of Russia," Letter reprinted from the *Times*, just published (1886). After such a well-filled list, the quality of industry in literary work will never be denied to Sir William Andrew. Perhaps his most generally interesting and popular work is "India and her Neighbours." In the preface it is stated:—

"Among the more important considerations presented to the reader of this volume, the following appear to merit special remark:—That England is not only a great Eastern Power, but that she possesses more Mahomedan subjects than the Sultan and the Shah together; that the standing armies of the feudatory princes of India number over 300,000 men, with more than 5,000 guns; and that it is urgent to have improved, and additional means of communication between England and India." And again, "Our relations with Russia may be powerfully influenced by our relations with Cabul; and our relations with Cabul may modify our treatment of the intervening hill tribes on our North-West Frontier"—(p. 311).

These voluminous and perspicacious productions of a shrewd and reflecting mind, communicated to the country by a masterly pen, have received the merited commendations of the press generally;* and the *Times* has frequently called public attention to his bold and statesmanlike views. These have, indeed, long seriously engaged the consideration of the most competent and experienced authorities in this country and in India, who have often been practically alive to their

* For a summary of important opinions on his works, see Appendix XI.

national importance. It is, therefore, not surprising that Sir William should be quoted as an authority in both Houses of Parliament, and should have been, on more than one occasion, appealed to give evidence before Select Committees of the House of Commons.

At this stage a few extracts from the London press will probably interest our readers :—"It is not a little remarkable, on reviewing the past and present position of the Indian railways, to perceive that the views of a privat individual have prevailed against, and finally overthrown, the plans of the Indian Railway Commission (composed of a civil engineer, sent at a great expense from this country, aided by two talented officers of the Hon. East India Company's engineers), approved of by the Governor-General, the India House, and Cannon Row authorities, and applauded by the press."—(*Observer*, 23 Nov. 1851). "The line (in Bengal) seems to have been adopted, which was originally recommended by Mr. W. P. Andrew." — (*Times*, 19 Nov. 1851.)

Bell's Weekly Mesenger, of 2nd August, 1856, spoke of him as "The ever-active master-mind, to which India is indebted for that railway system of which others have obtained the credit and the profit, cannot but at last compel that recognition of his services which it ought to have been the pride of those who rule to have long since gratefully and publicly acknowledged."

Telegraph to India.

In 1856 Sir William Andrew concluded an arrangement with Her Majesty's Government for the establishment of telegraphic communication with India, and in the same year obtained the only Act of Parliament ever granted for the purpose; Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby) being the Chairman of Committee of the House of Commons on the Bill.

Lines to the Bolan Pass and the Khyber.

In 1857, as the spokesman of a deputation to Lord Palmerston regarding the Euphrates and Indus route to

Central Asia, he advocated on strategic grounds the line to the Bolan, and also to the Khyber in the following words :—

"The grand object was to connect England with the north-west frontier of India by steam transit through the Euphrates and Indus valleys. The latter would render movable to either the Khyber or the Bolan, the two gates of India, the flower of the British army cantoned in the Punjaub; and the Euphrates and Indus lines being connected by means of steamers, we should be enabled to threaten the flank and rear of any force advancing through Persia towards India, so that the invasion of India by this scheme would be rendered practically impossible." Thus foreshadowing in the clearest manner much that has since been accomplished.

Sir Richard Temple on Sir William Andrew.

At the formal commencement of the Punjaub railway at Lahore, in February, 1859, Sir Richard Temple (then Commissioner of Lahore) said :—"Mr. Andrew has by his enterprise and spirit as a public man, and by his talents as an author, largely contributed to the great undertaking of which we have this day celebrated the commencement. . . . Mr. Andrew showed with descriptive eloquence, with statistical accuracy, with local information gathered from various sources, that Kurrachee and the Indus are to north-western India what Calcutta and the Ganges are to Bengal; that Kurrachee can compete with Bombay; that all the traffic from the Jumna, westward, will find its natural outlet by the Indus. . . . . Besides this, Mr. Andrew showed how this project is connected with the navigation of the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates Valley route, and the commercial lines in the mountainous regions of Central Asia." Again, Sir R. Temple, when Governor of Bombay, at a farewell dinner in Scinde, said :—"There was no one the Province ought to be more proud of than the Chairman of the S. P. and D. Railway."

The Gauge.

Sir William Andrew led the Discussion of the Gauge of Indian railways at the Institution of Civil Engineers, Westminster, in February and March, 1873, in the presence of the most eminent members and other distinguished persons, when his views in favour of the standard gauge of 5 feet 6 inches, were carried by a large majority, the President summing up in accordance with Sir William's opening speech. Sir John Hawkshaw, Sir H. Tyler, Captain Douglas Galton, Messrs. Bidder, Allport, Berkley and Grierson, and Sir L. Simmons strongly supported Sir William Andrew, who was subsequently heartily congratulated by the late Sir Bartle Frere.

The following remarks are also of great interest at the present time:—

"It is now upwards of a quarter of a century since the chairman of the Scinde Railway commenced to broach the idea of connecting the Khyber and the Bolan passes with the railway system of India. For more than a quarter of a century he has unsparingly advocated these views, not only in weighty official communications to the Indian Government, in repeated letters in our columns, but in books replete with valuable information concerning the trade and history of India. Last year we reviewed a work by Mr. W. P. Andrew, in which he energetically insisted on the immediate completion of a railway to our scientific frontier. Only a few days ago we published a letter from him adverting to the same subject. Had the views so persistently advocated by Mr. Andrew, and so repeatedly brought forward by us, been adopted at the commencement of the struggle last October, as we then ventured to insist upon, vast sums would have been spared in the hire of transport, and we should have been spared the ignominy of feeling that a British army, nominally on active service, has occupied five weeks in covering less than seventy miles."—*Times*, October 13th, 1879.

That Sir William Andrew is kept well in mind by the

British press is evident from the respectful and candid tone it ever uses regarding him. For instance, in the present year (1886), in an excellent article entitled "England in the East," commencing about the Government recently being questioned by Sir Henry Tyler as to whether the Quetta Railway was opened for traffic, and also about the condition of railways in the direction of Candahar (which produced the reply from Sir J. E. Gorst, alluded to elsewhere), after saying, "What Merv was to Khiva, Herat will be to Penjdeh; and the inhabitants of Afghan Turkestan will be compelled to join those of the Central Oasis as Russian subjects, unless England takes action to prevent it," the writer asserts that the "existing situation in that region has been described by none more clearly and effectively than by Sir W. P. Andrew in a letter to the *Times*." This letter should be circulated "broadcast for the instruction of the public." Again, "Sir William has an unequalled knowledge of the subject." Regarding his great work already accomplished, which alone must make his name immortal, it is also written:—

The Euphrates Valley Railway.

"But there is another railway urgently demanding reconsideration in face of the present attitude of Russia. That is the projected Indo-European Railway along the valley of the Euphrates and shores of the Persian Gulf. Sir W. P. Andrew has pleaded long and ably for the construction of this line; and we shall take care to have an early opportunity to lay before our readers the character of the proposed undertaking, and the reasons for holding that further delay in its construction is a danger to Great Britain."—*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, October, 1886.

In the Punjaub, Sir William was appropriately styled "an apostle of railways":—

"He is emphatically an apostle of railways; and though under existing conditions he can hardly hope to see launched his great scheme of the Euphrates Valley line, he can yet affirm with pardonable pride that disastrous

experience has compelled the Government of India to give effect to the views which a quarter of a century ago he enunciated as to the necessity of extending the Indian railway system to the frontier."—*St. James's Gazette*, 20 Oct. 1880.

And in a discussion at the Society of Arts, he was called by one speaker the "Lesseps of England," and by another, "the railway statesman."

"The advantages of the railway communication we now enjoy in Scinde and Northern India are entirely due to the enterprise and untiring perseverance of one man, Mr. Andrew, the indefatigable chairman of the Scinde, Punjaub and Delhi Railway, who so ably withstood official opposition for so many years, and in spite of all rebuffs carried out his ideas, to the immense benefit of India as well as England. Nay, we ask, if it had not been for Mr. Andrew, how would the army lately engaged in the Afghan campaign have been conveyed, with horses, war material, and all the impedimenta pertaining to such an immense host? and if not exactly landed at the mouths of the Khyber and the Bolan, it was not for want of reiterated representation by the chairman of the Scinde, Punjaub and Delhi Company as to the necessity of railway extension to Peshawur, and also towards Quetta. . . . In honouring such a man, the pioneer of railway enterprise in India, the Government would only be honouring themselves."—*Lahore Paper* of Feb. 7, 1881.

Camels in the Afghan War.

The loss of camels during the last Afghan campaign is calculated to have been from thirty to forty thousand; the effect was to almost exhaust the supply of the frontier provinces of Scinde and Punjaub, and to occasion a loss to the Treasury which cannot have been much less than two hundred thousand pounds. This, and all the accompanying expense and loss of life we might have been spared had the idea, broached by Sir William Andrew more than a quarter of a century ago, of connecting the Khyber and Bolan passes with the railway system of India, been carried into effect. But, fortunately, *it is never too late to mend!*

Railway Extension in India.

Sir Bartle Frere, at a meeting of the Scinde, Punjaub and Delhi Railway in December, 1880, remarked that "Mr. Andrew had the foresight to perceive and the boldness to lay before his countrymen the great importance and practicability of connecting those points [the sea, the capital of the Punjaub and Delhi] by railway. . . . He must now, I think, look back with satisfaction to the relations which then existed between him and the merchant princes who ruled India, and those of Her Majesty's Government who controlled the rulers of India."*

"Sir William Andrew," says the *Times*, in a leading article of 21st July, 1884, "has always been a warm advocate of railway extension in India. . . . In 1846, before the first railway sleeper had been laid or the first sod turned, Sir William Andrew was bold in prophesying the vast results that would follow when the plans in contemplation had been carried out. . . . In 1848, before a single mile of railway had been opened, the total value of the external trade of India was a little more than twenty-five millions sterling. . . . In 1883 India had more than ten thousand miles of railway opened and in use, and the external trade of the country is put down for that year at £147,837,920, or in round numbers at six times the amount at which it stood before the stimulus of railways had begun to be felt."

In these days there are some men who achieve greatness by becoming M.P.'s; while others, by so doing, have greatness thrust upon them.

Sir William would have made a useful Member of Parliament from his knowledge of Eastern affairs, and it is to be regretted that he did not accept any of several suggestions made to him that he should offer himself as a candidate, especially when he received a formal invitation from a metropolitan constituency. We cannot help thinking that the subject of our sketch would command the highest respect and attention in Parliament.

* *See* also Appendix XI.

We have now the pleasure to reproduce the splendid letter to the *Times*, of August 6, already alluded to, on the

ADVANCE OF RUSSIA TOWARDS INDIA.

To the Editor of the "Times."

SIR,—Many years ago, in giving publicity to a letter written by me to Lord Palmerston, you wrote:—"Twenty years ago the neglect of the Euphrates route to India was cited among the marvels of British apathy." Is this to endure in the face of the gigantic strides with which the Colossus of the North has been advancing to try conclusions with us in the East and elsewhere?

The Russian fleet threatens Port Lazareff in Corea on the pretext that we have occupied Port Hamilton. The present Czar has declared Batoum to be no longer a free port, in spite of the promise made by his predecessor in the 59th Article of the Treaty of Berlin, which, however, had barely been executed when proceedings were commenced to fortify the port.

It is reported that another difference has occurred between the English and Russian members of the Afghan Boundary Commission, and that the latter have referred to St. Petersburg for instructions, no doubt on purpose to cause delay. Next we hear rumours of a Russian "scientific" expedition to Mesopotamia and the Valley of the Euphrates; and it is said that Russia has suggested the propriety of Turkey handing over Erzeroum in lieu of the arrears of the war indemnity.

The recent speech of the Czar at Sebastopol, the massing of troops in the Crimea and Bessarabia, the increase of the Black Sea fleet, all appear to menace the future peace of the world, and especially that of Turkey and England.

For nearly two centuries the conquest of India has been Russia's dream. The time now appears to have arrived when the might of Imperial England must intervene to stay her onward march towards our Empire in the East.

The Transcaspian Railway from Michalovsk, on the bay of that name on the Caspian, was opened as far as Merv on the 14th of July last. The leading South Russian organs have jubilant articles on the successful and rapid completion of this railway. With this and other railways it is asserted that Russia will always be in a position to seriously coerce England through India. The position, we are told, is altogether changed on the Afghan frontier. Russia has hitherto

been dependent on the Cis-Caspian supplies, the transport of which occupied many weeks; the fertile portions of Persian Khorasan will later on support a mighty Russian host; and that Candahar can at any moment be made the objective point of a powerful expedition.

It would appear, therefore, scarcely possible that anyone who has studied the question can view unconcernedly the position which Russia is so rapidly gaining, or that anyone interested in India should now object to a reconsideration of our Indian frontier policy.

Hitherto Afghanistan and the inhospitable districts beyond have been, as it were, a protecting barrier, behind which we were comparatively secure; but let this be penetrated or turned, we must be prepared to meet our enemy face to face. But how can we do this with such a precarious population as India has around us and in our rear?

If not delayed, the advance of Russia will continue to be as rapid as it has been in the past. In 1863 the frontier line of Russia was from the northern end of the Sea of Aral to the Issik Kul Lake. The conquest of Tashkend, Bokhara, and Samarcand followed at short intervals, and in 1873 we see the Russian army marching triumphantly into Khiva. Nine or ten years after this Russia declared that she had no choice but to march on the oasis of Merv and the formidable military position of Sarakhs and annex them, which placed the Russian army almost within striking distance of Herat. Not satisfied with these acquisitions we saw recently how ruthlessly she seized upon Penjdeh, when the Sovereign of the country was in India, the guest of the Viceroy of the Queen Empress.

Seeing, then, the onward march that Russia is making in Central Asia, and with what rapidity she consolidates the additions to her Empire, there appears to be little doubt that the people of Afghan-Turkistan and Herat will pass under her sway as certainly as have the Turcomans and other Trans-Caspian tribes unless the power of England stay her advancing standards.

It is evident that we cannot afford to live any longer in a fool's paradise, and believe in the pacific assurances of Russia, who never makes a promise but to break it the moment it is to her interest to do so.

The future policy of England is to rely upon her own vigilance and valour, to complete and perfect the railways to the Khyber and Bolan passes, carrying on the latter line to Quetta, and eventually to Candahar, where we ought to

occupy a position in strength able to repel any movement towards the Bolan, and to assail in flank and rear any force advancing towards the Kyber. This view I advocated nearly thirty years ago, and to which I adhere. Let us, therefore, without delay fix the line that Russia is not to pass, as the prestige of our invincibility and our power of dominion would be seriously affected by the invasion by the Muscovite of the dominions of our ally, Abdurrahman Khan, whose territory we have pledged the honour of England to hold inviolate.

With Candahar strongly fortified and connected with the railway system of India in the rear, and the Hindu-Koosh in our possession, we should be in an impregnable position.

Batoum is evidently intended as the base of operations against Armenia and India, and threatens the existence of our protectorate over Asia Minor.

A late number of the *Broad Arrow* says:—"To all intents and purposes Batoum has been a place of arms for some time past. Mr. Gallenga, the *Times* correspondent, pointed this out in passing through the place in 1882. The following year Mr. Marvin visited the port twice; and in his 'Region of the Eternal Fire,' if we remember rightly, he mentions the case of a contractor who, being asked to send in tenders for repairs to the Turkish redoubt, and heading his tender too plainly, was reminded by General Kamaroff that there 'were no redoubts in Batoum, fortifications being forbidden by the Treaty of Berlin,' and that 'he must correct his application throughout as being a tender for garrison barrack repairs.' More recently the members of the Afghan Frontier Mission passed and repassed through the place, and have confirmed repeated statements about the existence of the unarmed batteries inside the free port, and the arsenal, full of heavy guns and all the essential munitions of war, just outside it—a railway, moreover, connecting the two."

A recent correspondent at Constantinople says:—"The place has not only become important as a fortress, but as an arsenal and general military depôt. Among the buildings erected there are four large powder magazines at Sekindir, nine depôts for stores and clothing at Bazarchane, seven military hospitals, and a general arsenal, which contained lately 70 Krupp guns, 100 cannon of different patterns, and 3,000 torpedoes." On this and other subjects the tone of the Russian press is very defiant towards England. We must take note that regarding Batoum Russia has addressed a direct challenge to England, and we must shape our policy

accordingly. Russia has by this repudiation enabled England to recover her freedom of action, and to take such steps regarding the Straits as her interests may demand, however inconvenient to Russia. By repudiating one part of the treaty, Russia debars herself from using any other portion of it.

A Berlin newspaper of the 28th of July says:—"The expansion of Russia in Central Asia has now reached such a point that, leaving out of account some barren mountain districts, every step forward must be taken in Persia, China, or the sphere of England's authority. English policy must adapt itself to these facts, though this can only be done with success when England's own military strength makes an imposing impression as against that of Russia. Since Lord Salisbury has again taken the lead, and probably for a long time, it is to be expected that this view of the situation will be adopted."

The movements of Russia have excited the deepest attention, not only of thoughtful Englishmen, but of various countries in Europe as well as in America; and there appears to be a general desire to know what steps, if any, are being taken to connect the Mediterranean Sea with the head of the Persian Gulf along the Euphrates route, and so re-open the ancient highway of nations between the East and West.

The example of Russia's persevering energy in establishing her Eastern communications should not be lost upon us, for she advances boldly, regardless of cost or any other obstruction, knowing well that the additional prestige which she will thereby gain, not only in the East, but in Europe also, will amply repay her for any sacrifice.

The general features of the projected Euphrates Valley Railway have been so frequently explained in your columns that a very brief summary may suffice:—

1. It would connect Alexandretta with the head of the Persian Gulf, making Kurrachee the European port of India, saving between England and India in distance 1,000 miles, and reducing the time for mails from twenty to ten days.

2. It would enable us to maintain India with a smaller European garrison, and save large sums for transport of troops, which could be sent from England to Kurrachee in fourteen days.

3. It would subject an enemy advancing towards the North-West Frontier of India to attack in flank and rear, and combined with the branches already described to the Bolan and

Khyber from the Indus line, would render India practically secure.

4. It would make the power of England quickly felt in the East, and would enable our military establishments in India to give support to our power and prestige in Europe, giving England the first strategical position in the world.

5. It would facilitate our protection of Asia Minor, and give Persia access to a port on the Mediterranean.

6. It would be easily defensible, both termini being on the sea, accessible by the forces of England and India, the flank being protected by the Euphrates and Tigris; while Cyprus, as *a place d'armes*, would cover the terminus at Alexandretta.

7. The length of the railway would be about 920 miles, and the capital required under £6,000,000.

This work, essential alike to the protection of India and to the preservation of the Turkish Empire, was recommended to the pecuniary support of the British Government by the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1872, of which the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was chairman.

In 1883 Lord Salisbury, in his place in the House of Peers, declared:—

"The popularity of the scheme and the great attention given to it are only some of the many signs which should make Her Majesty's Government consider that the subject of connecting the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean is one of the most important questions of the day. . . . . It is, therefore, a matter for which Her Majesty's Government will be held largely responsible by the public if they do not adopt at an early period a definite policy on the question—a policy to which they are prepared to adhere, and one which will respond to the feelings entertained by the public of this country."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. P. ANDREW.

29, Bryanston Square, W. August 3rd.

Sir William Andrew has been urged to reprint this communication and circulate it broadcast for the instruction of the public. The following important remarks are worthy of the highest consideration:—

So long ago as 1858, Field Marshal Baron Kühn von Kühnenfeld, Austrian War Minister, gave it as his opinion that "Whatever the commercial value of the Suez Canal to Central Europe, there is no doubt that it is secondary in importance to the Euphrates Railway, which affords the only means of stemming the Russian advances in Central Asia, and which directly covers the Suez Canal."

Bentley's Miscellany for July, 1868, after referring to Major-General Chesney's navigation of the river Euphrates, notes that "It was reserved for Mr. W. P. Andrew, a gentleman who has been destined to inaugurate measures fraught with political, commercial, and social progress of world-wide import, to lay before the public and the Government in all its comprehensive bearings the details of the noble scheme of the Euphrates route to India."

Sir Bartle Frere on the Euphrates.

At the Lecture on the Euphrates Route delivered at the National Club in June, 1882, by Sir William Andrew, Sir Bartle Frere, the chairman, in introducing the lecturer, said: "At Sir William Andrew's instance, he (Sir Bartle Frere) had been invited to communicate his views on the subject to the present Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone), and to the late Lord Clarendon as long ago as 1856, and from that day to this Sir William had never ceased, by tongue and pen, to urge the advantages of the Euphrates Valley line as an alternative to that by the Red Sea, and it is probable that had not other influences and interests stood in the way, Lord Palmerston would have long ago taken up the scheme as one of national importance when it had the active support of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and H. E. Musurus Pacha . . . . Any day might bring us news of the stoppage of the Suez Canal route, and the English commercial world would then be rudely awakened to the value of an alternative line of communication with India."

Speaking on the subject of the easy obstruction of the Suez Canal, Lord Wolseey declared in 1878 at the Royal

United Service Institution: "As a nation, therefore, it would be perfectly ridiculous for us to depend upon the Suez Canal as a line of communication with our Eastern possessions in time of war."

In 1879, Sir William was Chairman of the Stafford House Committee for promoting the construction of a railway from the Persian Gulf to Constantinople and the Mediterranean.

With these views the best authorities now appear to agree, and their adoption would be most opportune at the present moment—all this being carried out on a friendly understanding with our Imperial ally the Sultan and the Ameer of Aghanistan.

Among Sir William Andrew's qualifications as a speaker, are a winning ease of manner and sympathetic voice, a happy command of language at once terse and fluent, and a force of expression which arouses and retains the attention of his hearers; he seems to have attained that rare pre-eminence, as has been well said of other eminent men, of knowing "everything of something and something of everything"; for apart from what we may term his specialities, we find him always equal to any occasion that may fortuitously present itself, even to opening a bazaar or presiding at a flower-show. The Napier motto of "Ready, aye, ready!" is ever with him. To a mind of large grasp there is no "great" and no "small"; and his not only takes in a vast range of subjects, whether of social or national interest, but is as familiar with their technicalities as with their purport. With a corresponding largeness of heart—

> "He nothing human, alien deems
> Unto himself, nor disesteems
> Man's meanest claim upon him.

But, we have been informed by high authority, he contributes, on a scale it would be difficult to define, by subscriptions and donations (chiefly anonymous) to the most useful public charities, indulging his munificence further in private benefactions of an equally liberal character.

THE WAGHORN MEMORIAL.

But recently he aided in setting on foot, and by generous exertion and liberal example has done much to bring to a successful issue, the project of a memorial statue to record the indefatigable and invaluable labours of a devoted but forgotten public servant, the late Lieutenant Thomas Waghorn, R.N. At a meeting at the Mansion House he was unanimously chosen chairman of the committee, and soon afterwards H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh became patron. Sir William was on the executive committee of the Gordon Memorial Fund, to do honour to one of the most remarkable and distinguished, yet unfortunate, heroes of our time. Sir William is also a patron of Oriental literature. He gave a prize of 500 rupees for the best translation into Hindustani of the National Anthem. And, carrying on his munificent contributions to, and exertions in, every good cause, we find him member of committee of, and one of the largest subscribers to, the Frere Memorial Fund. Sir William Andrew was an intimate friend of the late Sir Bartle Frere, of whom he possesses an admirable likeness. A lasting friendship with distinguished men appears to have been a stepping-stone to success in Sir William's brilliant career. Holding in view the wise precept of Dr. Johnson, that it is good for a man through life to keep his friendships —like roads, or say, to be more applicable in the present case, like lines of railway—in "constant repair"—this he has certainly done; and the consequence is that, in the sunset of life—during which we trust he will yet achieve great things for his country—he has "troops of friends."

Sir William is a member of several clubs, and Fellow of many scientific societies, a liberal patron and discriminating appreciator of literature and art, and he entertains with distinguished hospitality. The valuable collections of pictures,* and other works of art which adorn his house,

* Including works by Raphael, Domenichino, Murillo, Poussin, Watteau, and the "Scottish Sir Joshua"—one of the strongest of portrait painters —Sir Henry Raeburn,—of whom an admirable biography, by Mr. William Raeburn Andrew, has just appeared.

testify to his taste as a connoisseur; though we must add that among these latter are many interesting and honourable presentation-gifts from sources of which he may be justly proud. Sir William has two sons, Harry Patrick, late Captain 8th Hussars, and William Raeburn, M.A. Oxon., barrister-at-law. Both are married and have issue. Residences, 29, Bryanston Square, W., London, and Charlesfield House, Midlothian.

SIR JULAND DANVERS, K.C.S.I.

SIR JULAND DANVERS was born 19th March, 1826, and was the eldest of eleven children.

His father, Frederick Dawes Danvers, who for many years was Registrar and Secretary at the Duchy of Lancaster, served under four sovereigns, including Queen Victoria.

His mother was daughter of John Juland Rawlinson, Esq. Many members of the Danvers family took a leading part in public and political affairs, especially during the reign of the Stuarts, and during the Commonwealth. One brother, Henry Earl of Danby, was a royalist, and another Sir John Danvers, Bart., signed the death warrant of Charles I. The heiress to the last baronet married one of the Butler family, and the landed estates in Leicestershire thus came into the possession of the Earls of Lanesborough, who assumed the name of Danvers in addition to that of Butler.

His brother, Robert William, served under Sir Henry Havelock and Sir James Outram during the Mutiny, and was amongst the beleaguered at Lucknow. Subsequently, he was killed in China, where his regiment was sent after the Mutiny campaign was over.

Sir Juland Danvers has held high and responsible positions in the India Office for many years, and his name is chiefly known in connection with railways and other public works in India. He was educated at private schools, but had a tutor before appointment to the East India House, William Walton, Esq., of Hampton. Lord Dufferin, the present Viceroy, was a fellow student. After his appointment he kept up his studies with a tutor, and attended lectures at King's College, London, in the even-

ings; intending, if promotion did not come, to go to Cambridge. He was on the point of doing so in 1847, when an appointment was offered which decided him to remain. He was Private Secretary to two Chairmen of the Court of Directors—from 1848-1853—viz., General Sir Archibald Galloway, and the Right Honourable Sir James Weir Hogg, Bart. But let us go back to the first appointment of the subject of our sketch.

He entered the Home Service of the East India Company in 1842, when Sir James Melvill, K.C.B., was Secretary, and when T. Love Peacock, John Stuart Mill, and Edward Thornton held high appointments in the Office. During the first few years of service he had the advantage of working under such men of eminence and ability as Sir James Melvill and Edward Thornton, the latter of whom was at the time Assistant-Secretary in the Financial Department, and was also engaged in writing his "History of India." Sir Juland was employed in assisting Thornton by preparing papers and matter for his great work, the "Gazetteer of India," with the compilation of which he had been entrusted by the Court of Directors.

Sir Juland Danvers, when responding to the toast of his health at the dinner given to him by the Northbrook Club, on the occasion of his being honoured with the K.C.S.I., remarked, that it had struck him early in his official career that India was in want of three things, and that he determined it should be his study to promote them, and that this had added much interest to his work when he felt that he was permanently fixed in the office.

The first was railways in India; the second telegraphs; and the third the development of the mineral resources of the country. He accordingly took every opportunity of advancing proposals for accomplishing these objects, and when in 1847–48 discussions took place as to the introduction of railways into India, he worked assiduously in support of the movement, as far as his position would allow, in and out of the office, and for a long time earnestly advocated the cause. Eventually he was placed in charge of the official correspondence on the subject under Sir

James Melvill. In 1853 Lord Dalhousie's famous Minute, accompanied by a Despatch from the Government, laid the foundation of the present railway system; and we can imagine the satisfaction with which Sir Juland Danvers drafted the reply which conveyed the sanction of the Court of Directors to the scheme of the Governor-General. How the railways have progressed, and how they have succeeded, has been shown by the annual reports which, for twenty-two years, the home Director has prepared for presentation to Parliament. In his last report in 1882 he summarises the work which had been done since his first report was made, and points out with remarkable clearness the advantages which had been secured to the country by railways (paras. 107* to end).

The development of the mineral resources of the country has naturally followed the establishment of railways. Coal alone was supplied to the extent of 476,277 tons in 1885 for the use of the railways, and fresh fields are every year being opened and worked.

With regard to telegraphs, the opportunity of putting the question forward was taken after reading an account in the *Asiatic Journal* of some experiments which were being made in the neighbourhood of Calcutta by Dr. William O'Shaughnessy (now Sir W. O'S. Brooke). After communicating on the subject with the Secretary, Sir James Melvill, and with the Chairman of the Court of Directors, it was agreed that the question of introducing telegraphs into India irrespective of those connected with the railways should be referred to the Government of India, and a despatch was addressed to that Government accordingly. In the meanwhile the operations of Dr. O'Shaughnessy in Calcutta had been extended, and a line had been actually laid and worked between Calcutta and Kedjeree, at the mouth of the Hooghly River. Lord Dalhousie took the matter up in his usual earnest and energetic manner, and, referring to the work done by O'Shaughnessy, recommended in 1852 the immediate commencement of a comprehensive system of telegraphs which should extend from Calcutta to Peshawur,

* "Report on Railways in India," 1881–82, pp. 61, 62.

Bombay and Madras, and that Dr. O'Shaughnessy, who had proved by his care, skill and economy, that he was eminently qualified to carry out the work of construction and organisation, should be entrusted with "the superintendence of the Electric Telegraph operations in India," * and should be deputed to England to submit his plans to the Court of Directors. He came accordingly; and Sir Juland was associated with him in arranging at the India House the business connected with the provision of materials and the formation of a staff of officers. The assistance given by his earnest associate in the great work, was generously acknowledged by Dr. O'Shaughnessy in his first manual for the Department. Mr. Marshman, in his "History of India," thus alludes to the business:—"It was carried through the various stages with such cordiality and promptitude, that within a week of the arrival of Lord Dalhousie's despatch, it had received the sanction of the Court, and of the Board of Control, and a despatch conveying this gratifying intelligence" (viz., approval) "was on its way to India. There had been no parallel to the expedition of these movements within the memory of the oldest functionary at the India House." The result is well known. In the course of six months, viz., by March, 1854, Dr. O'Shaughnessy had completed a line between Calcutta and Agra; and about a year afterwards 3,500 miles of telegraph, extending from one end of India to the other, had been established. It is scarcely necessary to allude to the value which the telegraph was to the Government, when soon after its formation the Mutiny broke out. The timely notice which it gave to the authorities in the Punjab brought forth the epigramatic words from Sir John Lawrence, "THE TELEGRAPH SAVED INDIA."

"By me are earth's barriers riven,
By me are its boundaries spread;
A word—and the impulse is given,
A touch—and the mission has sped.
Hurrah! 'tis the best conjuration
That Science, the wizard, has done!
Through me nation speaks unto nation,
Till all are united in one."

* Parliamentary Papers, May, 1855.

When in 1858, the Government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, the appointment of Secretary in the Railway and Telegraph Department was conferred upon Sir Juland Danvers, who had for his colleagues as corresponding Secretaries, Sir John Kaye, James Cosmo Melvill, W. T. Thornton, and Prideaux. In this capacity he became connected with the arrangements then being made for connecting India with this country by Telegraph, and was brought into communication with the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Stuart, R.E., C.B., who after succeeding in laying a cable down the Persian Gulf, succumbed to fever and died at Constantinople. On Sir James Melvill's death in 1861, he was appointed by Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State, to the post of Government Director to the Indian Railway Companies in this country, which office he has held ever since. The office is one which involves peculiar duties, embracing supervision, control, and co-operation with the various Boards in carrying out the administration of the systems of Railways committed to them. The Government Director has a power of veto at the Board over the proceedings of the Directors. The responsibility is considerable; and, beyond all question, the duties have been performed satisfactorily. The anxieties of such a difficult position can only be conceived by one who has had experience of them. To exercise the power of veto wisely, requires tact of no common order.

In the autumn of 1875, Sir Juland Danvers obtained permission from Lord Salisbury to visit India, and go over all the railways with which he had been associated. He was accompanied by his friend, Mr. A. M. Rendel, the Consulting Engineer for Railways at the India Office. In his annual report written in the following year, he gives an account of their tour, and commences it by observing that "one change which has been produced"*—(See paras, 23, 24, 25, and 30, in Note I. at end of sketch).

In 1881, on the death of Mr. W. T. Thornton, C.B., who had been Public Works Secretary since 1858, Sir Juland Danvers was selected to succeed him, and he has held the

* "Report on Railways in India," for 1875-76, p. 9.

two offices of Government Director and Public Works Secretary since that time.

Besides the Annual Reports, he has written pamphlets and papers on Railways and Public Works in India, and prepared a paper for the Society of Arts in 1877, at the reading of which Lord Northbrook, late Viceroy, was present, introducing the reader with some most appropriate remarks. (See *Society of Arts Journal*, Note II.)

He has also contributed essays to Journals on the "Civil Service of this Country," &c., and during the Mutiny was author of a pamphlet entitled "India, the Revolt and the Home Government."

A Government Office does not present many opportunities for conspicuous service, and the career of a Civil Servant of the Crown in this country cannot, in the nature of things, be eventful, as it often is in the sister services of the Army and Navy. His duty is to his chief for the time being, whom he may advise and guide, and whose policy he may possibly shape. Many pass through a long service, performing important and valuable work, unknown to fame. His work is only open to the world when he happens to be called to serve on a Commission, or to give evidence before a Parliamentary Committee.

In Sir Juland's case circumstances were somewhat exceptional. As Government Director his duties were performed before the critical eyes of outsiders. His colleagues at the Boards were men of all professions, Military officers, Civilians, Merchants, Lawyers, men who had been members of the Government in this country, and men who had held the highest positions in India as Governors, Commissioners, Agents and Secretaries. His Annual Reports also brought his name before the Public. Whenever a Parliamentary enquiry took place, he was examined, and we find him giving evidence in 1858, before a Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Railways, in 1872 before an Indian Finance Committee, in 1884 in another Railway Committee. He was also in a sufficiently responsible and independent position to be able to advocate and enforce a policy. It is apparent from the Annual Reports that his object has

always been to extend as far as possible the benefits of Railways, and to adapt the system of management, as well as rates and fares, to the circumstances of the people and country, thereby hoping to secure the twofold purpose of adding to the revenue of the Government and to the dividends of the Shareholders, as well as of developing the agricultural and commercial resources of the country.

"If," he says in September, 1880, "sound and economical principles are applied to their management, not only will the moral and material well-being of the country be advanced, but a fertile source of revenue will be secured to the State."

The length of service may be judged by his having been in office during the Governorship of twelve Governors-General and Viceroys, from Lord Ellenborough to Lord Dufferin; and under eleven Secretaries of State, from Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby) to Lord Cross, besides having been sixteen years at the India House under seven chairmen of the Court of Directors.

In 1886 he received the honour of K.C.S.I. from the Queen, this being reserved, so far as the Home Service is concerned, for those who have served with distinction for thirty years and upwards. And thus Sir Juland Danvers had his first distinct reward in a very meritorious career; through which the Iron Horse, we trust, will carry him on bravely to the end.

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I.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA.

PERSONAL INSPECTION.

[Railways in India forming the back-bone of our Indian administration, or being the key of our executive action, the author makes no apology for introducing the following paras. of a valuable Report for the benefit of his readers.]

23. One change which has been produced in India by steam power cannot, perhaps, be better illustrated than by the fact that within the time which, forty years ago, it would have taken to communicate by letter between London and Calcutta we were enabled to go to India and back and to traverse the length and breadth of the land, from Tuticorin and Beypore in the south to Multan and Jhelum in the north; visiting on our way, most of the important cities, including Madura, Trichinopoli, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Poonah, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Jabulpur, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Lucknow, Agra, Delhi, Ajmere, and Lahore; remaining several days at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; stopping to view the new and rising industries of the country, such as the coal mines of Wurrora, Mopani, and Kurhurballi, the iron works of Ranagunge, and the factories at Bombay, Surat, Broach, and Calcutta; and mounting several hill stations and sanatoriums.

24. Speedy communication is, however, a small part of the work which is being accomplished by railways. They are producing a most important and beneficial influence over the moral and material interests of the people; and they are furnishing those who are responsible for the government of the country with the most effectual means of establishing peace and security. On political and strategic as well as on social and commercial grounds their extension, therefore, is greatly to be desired. But no extensive ramification of the railway system can be successfully carried out without the exercise of the utmost economy and circumspection. The lines must be constructed at the lowest possible cost, and selected and laid out with the greatest judgment.

25. With regard to the existing lines, we found, generally they were in good condition. Here and there portions had been allowed to fall below a high standard of efficiency, but the permanent way was, as a rule, in proper order, and the work of maintenance well attended to. Some lines looked better kept and neater than others, and this was, to a certain extent, due to the materials most suitable for ballast being ready at hand. The Madras Railway especially, with its light sand roadway and iron sleepers, was as trim as the drive in a gentleman's park in England. In carrying out so extensive a system as that which now exists, it could hardly have been expected that mistakes would not have been made, and failures would not have taken place, but those which have occurred are, for the most part the

mistakes and failures naturally arising from inexperience and imperfect data. Alignments, in some cases, might have been better, and the works are in some cases unnecessarily massive and expensive. In others sufficient waterway was not provided; bridges have been insecurely built, and their foundations have not only been shaken but undermined by the tremendous force of the floods. These, however, are mostly errors inseparable from vast operations of a novel character in an unknown country. Taking the railway system of India as a whole, it cannot but be regarded as a triumph of human industry and skill.

30. I need hardly remark that the railways command an enormous power over the interests of the districts through which they pass. It is a power which should be used in a very judicious, enlightened, and I would add enterprising spirit, not calculating only on the existing condition of things, but taking into account the capabilities of the country, the prospects of future development, and the growing wants and improving habits of the people. To obtain the highest return from the transport of a limited amount of goods should not be so much the object of railway managers as the conveyance of a large quantity with a comparatively small profit upon each unit. In some of the fertile valleys through which we passed, the surface of the ground, unbroken by hedge, wall, or fence of any kind, presented, as far as the eye could reach from the railway embankment, one large sea of rice or corn. In other parts the railway traverses tracts of country where the cultivable area might be increased, and where an external trade might be established, if only a market were accessible for the produce of the land. Opportunities, therefore, in one shape or another, are not wanting of obtaining traffic; but to make railways as serviceable and as profitable as they should be, they must be brought within reach of the people, who, though poor, tenacious, and prejudiced, soon become alive to their value, and are quite ready to use them in every possible way, whether for carrying themselves or their goods. The passenger-rates have, on some lines, been already reduced for the lowest class, as far as can be expected. The charges are from a farthing to a third of a penny per mile. The value attached by natives to cheap travelling may be gathered from the fact that they prefer giving up their caste to parting with their pence. The high caste will travel with his lower caste brother rather than pay a higher fare. As regards goods, the natives who engage in trade are keen

observers and calculators in matters of business, and command, by some means or other, very accurate information as to prices which prevail in the various markets of the world. The trade up country would seem, at present, to be in the hands of a few. One effect of administering the railways in a broad and liberal spirit would probably be to introduce a wider competition, and to encourage a more general employment of capital. The policy, therefore, to be followed, both in the interests of railway proprietors, and of the public, is low rates and simplicity of management; avoiding as much as possible special charges and exceptional arrangements (which only confuse and discourage the uninitiated and the small dealer), and showing a readiness to consider the means, the wants and usages of the people. It is hardly necessary to add that economy is at the bottom of all reforms and improvements in the direction above indicated. For the rates paid by the customer must always in some degree correspond with the rest of transportation. The more saving there is in managing the traffic, the greater margin will there be for reduction of charges, and thus will a greater stimulus be given to business, and a greater chance of increased profits.

II.

THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.

Indian Section.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK ON THE GOVERNMENT-DIRECTOR.

Friday, February 16th, 1877; the Right Hon. the Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I., in the chair.

The Chairman said—The subject of Indian railways is not only one of great consequence to the administration of India, alike in its commercial, political, and military aspects, but it is also one of great interest to the people of this country, because ninety millions of English money have been invested in these railways. Mr. Juland Danvers, twenty years ago, succeeded a man of great ability, Sir James Cosmo Melvill, as the Government Director of Indian Railways. That office is one which requires considerable knowledge of business and great tact, and I can say from what I know and what I have heard, that Mr. Danvers has performed his duties to the entire satisfaction both of the Government and of the companies. Some eighteen months ago he most properly thought it would add to his usefulness if he

made a personal inspection of the railways. He therefore went out to India, and traversed and examined, in conjunction with Mr. Rendel, all, or nearly all, the railways which were either constructed or under construction. Therefore, I think there is no man who, from his acquaintance with the subject, and from his personal knowledge, is more capable of giving information upon the subject of Indian railways than Mr. Danvers.

The paper on Indian railways was then read; and, at the conclusion of the interesting discussion thereon, his Lordship remarked that "Railways are very good things, and the extension of trade for India very desirable. They were all glad to see those things progress; but there was one matter which signified more than all, viz., the soundness of Indian finance, which the Government of India must have first and foremost in their minds. India was a poor country compared to England, although its exports are so great, and it would not stand any extraordinary taxation. . . . He was sure that they would all join with him in offering their most sincere thanks to Mr. Danvers for his paper, and in expressing a hope that the present successful position of some of the principal railway companies in India was only the beginning of a condition of things which would show that those undertakings would not only be useful to the country, but would really show a very large commercial profit." Mr. Hyde Clarke—to whom Dryden's "man so various" seems ever applicable—eventually wrote:—"The paper was marked by its liberal tone, but its most important feature—its bearing upon railway extension in India—did not receive due notice. As Lord Northbrook said, 'India is a poor country,' but assuredly the way to keep it poor is to deprive it of railway extension, the great necessity for its development." This was written early in 1877. No one will presume to say that railway extension is not occupying the attention of Government and all concerned, in the latter half of the eventful year 1886.

As to railway extension in India, we were informed early in October that the only line just now in definite contemplation, is that from Tounghoo to Mandalay. Government fully appreciates the importance of pushing on the construction of such a line, as one of the best means of pacifying the country.

SUPPLEMENTARY SKETCH.

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LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HERBERT MACPHERSON, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

It was well written in the year 1858, when the affairs of the great East India Company were transferred to the Crown, that in India the best men make their way to the best places; and when a great crisis arises, the Lawrences, the Nicholsons, and the Outrams (the Neills might have been added), are found at their proper posts. But the same may be said of men who did not belong to the Company's army—very able and distinguished officers who have achieved greatness while passing the best years of their lives in India. And, most assuredly, Sir Herbert Macpherson, whose melancholy death at Prome has just been announced, was one of these. He had, through conspicuous ability and untiring energy, risen to the high post of Commander-in-Chief at Madras; and while on his grand mission to exterminate Dacoity, and reduce Upper Burmah to order, with the splendid force which would so soon have been under his command, he fell a victim to fever, doubtless produced by over-work and anxiety while seeking perfection in local arrangements to attain the desired end. He as truly died in harness as if he had fallen on some well-fought field of battle, with the shout of victory ringing in his ears; or he died as one bearing the glorious old name of Macpherson ought to die! The following excellent sketch of this distinguished officer's career appeared in the same number of the London daily journal which, by telegram, announced his death:—"Rangoon, Oct. 20, General Sir Herbert Macpherson died of fever, at Prome this morning."

Lieut.-General Sir Herbert Taylor Macpherson, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., was one of the most distinguished officers in the Army, and had borne a part in all the wars in India and the East during the last thirty years. Born in 1827, he was the youngest son of the late Colonel Duncan Macpherson, of the 78th Highlanders, and at the age of eighteen he followed in his father's footsteps, and received a commission in the same regiment. Three years later he became Lieutenant; but it was not until he had seen twelve years' service that he was engaged upon active service. In 1857 the 78th Highlanders formed part of the Expeditionary Force to Persia, and Lieutenant Macpherson, who was by that time Adjutant of the regiment, took his part in the campaign. He accompanied the expedition to Barazoon, fought in the night attack and battle of Kooshab, and was present at the bombardment of Mohumrah. He shortly afterwards obtained his company. There was but brief rest for the regiment after its return from Persia, for scarcely had the men set foot in India when they were pushed forward to Allahabad, where Havelock was collecting his column for the relief of Lucknow. There the 78th fought at the battle of Onao, and the two engagements at Buseerutgunge and at Bithoor. How they won their way through the streets of Lucknow is a matter of history, as also how they in turn besieged and defended the Residency, until Sir Colin Campbell came to their relief and brought off the remains of Havelock's column, and of the original garrison of the Residency. But even in this fierce fighting —and here all were heroes—Captain Macpherson distinguished himself above others, receiving the Victoria Cross "for distinguished conduct on the 20th of September, 1857, in setting an example of heroic gallantry to the men of the regiment at the period of the action in which they captured two brass nine-pounders at the point of the bayonet." In these combats he was twice wounded—first at Onao, and the second time in the defence of the Residency. Subsequently, he formed part of Sir James Outram's force at the Alumbagh, which sustained successfully repeated attacks by the enemy. When Lord Clyde, for the second time,

approached Lucknow, and after desperate fighting broke up the army of mutineers and Oude tribesmen gathered there, and struck the death blow to the rebellion, Captain Macpherson held the post of Brigade Major, and was severely wounded in the course of the fighting. For his services he received a year's seniority, together with the medal and clasp. After this, there was peace for some time; and the year after the conclusion of the Mutiny he married Maria, daughter of General Eckford, C.B. In 1867 Major Macpherson obtained his step as Lieutenant-Colonel, and in the following year took part in the troublesome campaign against the Hazaras, winning another medal and clasp. He was present both at the Looshai Expedition in 1871–72 and the Jowaki Campaign in 1877, obtaining a medal and clasp for the first, and a clasp for the action at the Bori Pass in the second affair. A more serious war was now approaching, and Colonel Macpherson received the command of the First Brigade First Division of the army which was gathering on the northern frontier of the Punjab against the Afghans. His brigade took part in the engagement which led to the forcing of the Khyber Pass, and the expedition into the Kama and Laghman Valleys, and in the various engagements around Cabul. He was present in both the fights at Charasiab, and for his conduct in the second of these battles was mentioned in Despatches. When the news of the disaster at Maiwand reached Cabul, and Sir Frederick Roberts performed the famous march to Candahar, Colonel Macpherson was in command of the First Infantry Brigade, and won his K.C.B. at the battle in which Ayoub Khan's army were driven, a disorganized rabble, from the position they had chosen. For the Afghan Campaign he received the medal with four clasps and the bronze decoration. When the Egyptian War broke out, Sir Herbert Macpherson was appointed to the command of the Division furnished by India, and, proceeding with it to Egypt, took part in the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. He was twice mentioned in Despatches, received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his services, was made K.C.S.I., and decorated with the medal and clasp, the Star of the Second Class Order of the Medjidie, and the Star of

the Khedive. On the 1st October, 1882, he had obtained his step as Major-General. At the conclusion of the Egyptian Campaign he returned with his division to India, and was then appointed to the command of the Allahabad Division, and in 1885 received the chief command of the Madras Army, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. In August of the present year he was appointed to the supreme command in Burma, and a force was placed at his disposal which would, it was thought, prove ample for the pacification of the country. After completing all arrangements for the campaign he sailed to Rangoon, and it was only on the 18th of October that the news arrived that he had reached Thayetmyo, and was examining the reports sent to him by the various district officers preparatory to a final decision as to the plan of the campaign.*—On the same day as that on which the General's death was announced, came the intelligence—by no means pleasant to those who knew well how much public injury may arise from civil and military chiefs disagreeing in such matters—that the Madras Commander-in-Chief favoured the establishment of martial law; but Sir Charles Bernard, an able and zealous civilian (but whose antecedents in Burma are not generally considered of a brilliant character), disagreed "with the adoption of that course." At home, when a crisis occurs, all eyes are bent on our favourite General, Lord Wolseley; so, in India, we look to one in whom we can place thorough confidence; and, as we remarked before hearing of the appointment in this case, Sir Herbert Macpherson would surely be succeeded by Sir Frederick Roberts, the redoubtable Indian Commander-in-Chief. From Bombay it was telegraphed on the 21st that General Sir Frederick Roberts, Commander-in-Chief in India (Sir Herbert's predecessor in Madras) "will assume the command of the army in Burma." On the same day also, at a meeting of the Viceregal Council, the Viceroy referred to "the death of General Macpherson, and expressed the sorrow which he felt upon learning the sad intelligence." His Excellency also stated that he had received a telegram from the Queen conveying the expression

* *Standard*, Oct. 21, 1886.

of "Her Majesty's deep regret at the calamity which had thus suddenly overtaken the country."

The remains of the lamented General were interred in the Rangoon Cantonment Cemetery, on the 21st October; and there was a great military display at the funeral. It was also attended by all the civil and naval officers in Rangoon, by the foreign Consuls, and a large number of unofficial persons. The burial service was performed by the Bishop of Rangoon; and such was "the last of earth" of a most gallant and distinguished British General. It was feared that his lamented death would seriously affect the situation and the arrangements in Upper Burma, besides, from the credulous nature of the Burmese, urging on the rebels to further and stronger resistance; but with such an experienced and energetic leader as Sir Frederick Roberts, we have nothing to fear; and erelong let us hope that the message of Peace will be accepted throughout all Burma.

General Sir Frederick Roberts was to be invested with special powers while holding the chief command; and by news from Rangoon of the 24th it was stated—the wisest preliminary stroke of policy for the pacification of Burma, and the final success of what may be a long and tough campaign—that the Government was actively negotiating with the Shan chiefs, with the view of getting them to acknowledge British authority in their country; but we were not to interfere "actively" in the Shan States. Mr. R. Pilcher, with a strong escort, was shortly to leave Mandalay as British Commissioner on this rather difficult task; and two fortified posts had already been established in the Shan Hills. No sooner had this cheering news of healthy action arrived than the intelligence of Mr. R. Pilcher's death was received. The name of another able and energetic officer had been added to the long list of casualties in Upper Burma during our third Expedition; and Mr. Burgess in the true British spirit at once took Mr. Pilcher's place. It was also interesting to read that the local Burmese had expressed the opinion that the subjugation of Upper Burma would require three or four years, and that a large army of

occupation would be necessary. If all goes on fairly well, under the famous Commander-in-Chief three or four months may suffice; or at most a year, by which period the French will either have lost Tonquin, or fairly established their Protectorate therein, and the Russians will have attempted a Protectorate in Corea! Meanwhile, nothing could be better than the Government endeavours to conciliate the Shans—a people we have frequently mentioned elsewhere. By the middle of last year (1885) we had finished a paper entitled "The Shan People: Their vast Importance in our Political and Commercial Dealings with Burma—the Foremost Country." It commenced thus:—Every Englishman of the present day should study the Shan people of Eastern Asia, emerging as they now seem to be, from a long, dark and mysterious seclusion into a better position, and *one which may be fairly utilized by us* during our progressive march in the cause of Eastern civilisation. The author had the honour to forward a copy of this sketch to the Secretary of State for India, which was promptly and kindly acknowledged. [Sir Frederick Roberts arrived at Mandalay on the 17th November; more Native regiments were ordered to the scene of action; but without at least twenty officers to each corps, they will be far from efficient in Burma.]

NOTES ON SOME MADRAS COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF.

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After a full, yet concise, list of Madras Governors, from 1652 to 1858, Mr. Prinsep gives us one of Commanders-in-Chief in the Madras Presidency, from 1697 to 1858, in which year the affairs of the East India Company were transferred to the Imperial Government.* It is remarked that "in the earlier years the Commissions of Governors also bore the title of Commanders-in-Chief." After the office being held from

* Prinsep's "Record of Services," page xxix. to page xxxiii.

1698 to 1735 by eight functionaries (among them were the famous names of Pitt, Addison, and Hastings), we come to John Hinde, who was also Governor of Fort St. David (Cuddalore), where he died in April, 1747, previous to receiving commission and orders creating Fort St. David "the head settlement, in consequence of the capture of Fort St. George by the French." In the same year appears the name of Charles Floyer, whose distinction consists in his having been dismissed the service, in 1750, under Court's despatch. The dismissal of a Governor and Commander-in-Chief was not then a great business with the omnipotent Court. George Pigot twice assumed command, first in 1755, and next in 1775 as the Right Honourable Lord Pigot. His Lordship was placed under arrest by the majority of his Council, and died in May, 1777. It is interesting to read that after this zealous nobleman was placed under arrest by order of Mr. George Stratton and the majority of his colleagues, he was detained at St. Thomas's Mount (about eight miles from Madras). He was then "allowed to return to Garden House for change of air."

Brigadier-General John Caillaud—a distinguished name, familiar to every reader of Indian history—ten years before had assumed command of the forces on the Coromandel Coast. The famous Major-General Hector Munro commanded the forces on the Coromandel Coast between 1777 and 1781; and then came the well-known and distinguished Lord Macartney, K.B. Four distinguished officers (K.B.'s) came after Lord Macartney—Lieut.-Generals Sir Robert Sloper, Sir John Dalling, and Sir Archibald Campbell, followed up by a well-known hero of Indian history during the war in Mysore—Major-General Sir William Medows, who was also Commander-in-Chief of Bombay. There is a capital anecdote of this brave General. It was at the storming of Bangalore (1791), just after the gallant Colonel Moorhouse had received his fatal wound, when the principal gate was almost torn in pieces by our determined troops, Lieutenant Ayre, a man of diminutive stature, forced his way through it. Medows, who preserved "an inspiring gaiety" in the midst of battle, called out, "Well done! Now, whiskers, try if you can follow and support 'the little gentleman'." The result, of course, was, after a most gallant resistance, our eventual occupation of the *pettah* (town) of Bangalore.

Sir Charles Oakley, Bart. (a writer in Madras, 1767), was Commander-in-Chief, as well as Governor, from 1792 to

1794, and was succeeded by a well-known nobleman, Lord Hobart, whose descendant, in our time, became Governor of Madras. Major-General George (afterwards Lord) Harris, G.C.B., Commander of the Forces in 1797, was also Governor in 1798. The descendant of this famous General was Governor of Madras during the Indian Mutiny, displaying conspicuous energy and ability. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck was Governor and Commander-in-Chief in 1803.

We pass on to three well-known chiefs, all G.C.B.'s—Major-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty (1810), and Lieut.-Generals the Hon. John Abercromby (1813), also Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, and Sir Thomas Hislop (1814), one of Britain's most distinguished leaders during the great Mahratta War. He was Commander-in-Chief, Bombay, and, Mr. Prinsep informs us, was captured on his voyage to Madras [Brigadier James Ketchen, Madras Artillery, was also captured on his voyage to Madras as a cadet, and was not delivered up until after the French war.] Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Bart., K.C.B., assumed command in 1820; and another Baronet and K.C.B., Sir Alexander Campbell, was Commander of the Forces in 1821. After these distinguished men, we arrive at a Madras Commander-in-Chief, who made himself immortal by issuing one of the best General Orders ever penned; but the full credit of it was given to His Excellency's esteemed and clever wife, Lady Walker. Lieut.-General Sir George Townsend Walker, Bart., G.C.B., assumed command in 1826. At that time the "most excellent foppery of the world" was running riot at Madras among military officers. One day a General Order appeared from the Adjutant General's office to the following effect:—Sir George felt it incumbent on him to intimate to the army that officers were at liberty to discontinue forthwith the cultivation of corkscrew ringlets; and, still further, that he was pleased to dispense with the use of side combs by the officers in the army which he commanded, as he was unable to appreciate their utility or expediency in any military point of view! After this, who will dare say, in these days of female suffrage *in esse*, hysteric "statesmanship," female members of School Boards, fair physicians, and strong-minded women everywhere, that the wife is not the better half of poor humanity, even of a Commander-in-Chief? Sir George Walker was Commander-in-Chief for the usual term of five years, and died Governor of Chelsea Hospital in November, 1842. Lieut.-General Sir Robert William O'Callaghan, G.C.B., K.H., commanded

from 1831 to 1836. He was a famous sportsman as well as soldier, and shot a magnificent elk on the Neilgherries (or Blue Mountains). After Sir Peregrine Maitland (1836-38), who eventually became Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, we have Sir Jasper Nicolls, who became Commander-in-Chief of India. Three years after, the famous Sir Hugh Gough assumed temporary command. As Commander-in-Chief in India, the great battles he fought in the Punjab gained him his peerage; and Viscount Gough died in Dublin, March, 1869. General Sir Robert Dick had temporary command in 1841, and was killed at Sobráon, February 10, 1846. In September, 1842, Lieut.-General the Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T., G.C.B., G.C.H., who had served at Waterloo, assumed command. His Lordship was also Governor. Passing over five chiefs, we come to June, 1856, when Lieut.-General Sir Patrick Grant, K.C.B.—once, as Adjutant General, Lord Gough's right-hand man—assumed command, and held it with honour throughout the Mutiny. He is at present Governor of Chelsea Hospital, and long live Sir Patrick, say we! Among his most notable successors have been Generals Sir James Hope Grant, Sir Frederick Haines (who became Commander-in-Chief in India), Sir Neville Chamberlain, and Sir Frederick Roberts, who succeeded Sir Donald Stewart as Indian Commander-in-Chief. His place was taken at Madras by the gallant and admirable Sir Herbert Macpherson, whose brilliant career has been sketched by many able pens, and whose untimely death we all deeply lament. Peace be to his memory! Truly, death openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguishes envy. "Extinctus amabitur idem."*

* Bacon.

SIR GEORGE POLLOCK, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

LINES SUGGESTED BY THE FIELD-MARSHAL'S FUNERAL IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, OCTOBER 16, 1872.

—o—

AFTER a well-spent life, work nobly done,
Nature exhausted, mourned by troops of friends,
Our Indian hero sleeps. But scanty honours
Graced such a wonderful career, for, Pollock,
With all who wish our Eastern Empire well—
And who so dead of soul not so to wish?—
Thy name shall live for ever! India,
When terrible disaster, deadly ruin,
Made all look black, and Afghan treachery
Was to the fore, and peace had left the land;
When faith in England's power began to shake,
And Russia's eagle, ready for his prey,
Hailed the impending storm; then came a star—
A "bright particular star"—which settled o'er
The head of Pollock, born to fight and save!
Type of the Anglo-Indian General he,
Type of the Anglo-Indian gentleman,
Type of a race who shall to time unborn
Be linked with India's welfare and true glory!
"The last of earth" calls forth a solemn meeting;
Now, in the Abbey—honoured resting-place—
Must he be laid, where glorious dust abounds.
Hark! the procession comes—what solemn music!—
Statesmen and soldiers following in the train;
Knights of the Bath and Star of India ranged
Beside the worthy freight now borne along:*

* The pall-bearers consisted of three Knights Commanders of the Bath and three Knights Commanders of the Star of India.

Conspicuous among the Stars of India,
Lawrence,* whose energy in time of need,
In later days, did much to crush rebellion;
And Kaye, the bounteous labours of whose pen
Have given historic truth to mighty deeds
Performed by Pollock—dreadful Khyber forced,
Brave Sale relieved, and conquest of Cabul—
A page which England will not soon let die.
The solemn service o'er, a last sad look
We take at the old warrior's resting-place,
Thinking what Antony said of noble Brutus—
"His life was gentle"—life to what poets style
"A green old age"—the elements of good
All "mixed in him;" while some friends, loath to part,
Muse o'er the Khyber Pass—then glide away.†

* The Right Hon. Lord Lawrence, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. (late Viceroy of India).

† *See also* Appendix IV.

ANGLO-INDIAN PERIODICAL LITERATURE.*

—o—

I.

It was not long after the terrible emotion caused by India's severest trial, "The Sepoy Mutiny," had subsided, that, while holding an important position in Central India, I had the honour to form one of a small band who were anxious to improve the various grades of Europeans resident at the station. The means were a series of lectures. As coming under the head of *subsidiary education*, they seemed particularly well adapted to the country; for, in the East, where intellectual stagnation, even among true Britons, is so apt to become lamentably frequent, should men only wish to have their memories refreshed (supposing them to be "too clever by half," to require any "subsidiary" knowledge), what better plan than a system of lectures can be devised to stimulate them to keep up an acquaintance with what they once knew of the various branches of science and literature? Again, the thought occurred to us that lectures, to many of our hearers, would not only be subsidiary, but actual primary education. For my own part, having long held it to be indisputably true that "Periodical Literature is a great thing," that it is a potent instrument in the education of a people, it was selected for the subject—English and Anglo-Indian—on two occasions, when I attempted to give, with the help of a rather limited library, and the assistance of a few genuine old Indians—stars of a world gone by—some account of its rise, progress, and importance.

Having opened our campaign in July, 1859, Nagpore became the second great province,† in which, during the month, lectures for the diffusion of useful knowledge had

* This and the three following papers appeared in the *Dark Blue* for July, August, and September, 1872, under the heading of "Periodical Literature in India."

† On the 2nd July, a series of lectures was opened by Sir Bartle Frere, Chief Commissioner of Sind, in the Government English School at Kurrachee.

been instituted. Looking back upwards of forty years, the Peishwa, the Nagpore Rajah, and Holkar, were all rising with one accord against the English. The Pindarries and Mahrattas were distracting the land.

On the very ground where we had now raised our humble standard to give an occasional hour's intellectual entertainment to those who sought it, during that critical period host was encountering host; the "fatal hill" of Seetaabuldee resounded with the clang of arms, and the thunder of the "red artillery;" and Nagpore fell—another trophy to the Saxon race! The remarkable events in Central India during that important time have been ably and graphically chronicled in the "Life of Sir John Malcolm"—a biography which will never die—by one of the brightest ornaments of our Indian Periodical Literature,* to whom allusion will be made in due course. And now the present writer must be pardoned for commencing his subject—which professes to treat of periodical literature in India only—with a piece of egotism. My first serious attempt in the walk of our indigenous Indian literature was made public through the pages of that popular vehicle, the *Calcutta Review*, some twenty-seven years ago; and any literary ardour and energy I then possessed were thereby roused into a decisive state of action. In the preface to the little work under review it is remarked: "Literature in India may be said to be in a state of inaction [1845] with the exception of *one* Review, which, leviathan like, plays about in the torpid pool." Again—"The *Calcutta Review*, undoubtedly the best work (Anglo-Indian) we have ever had, we are afraid is not sufficiently patronised in *our* Presidency (Madras). We have frequently asked if such a person had seen the last number of the above *Review*, when the reply would be, 'I have heard of such a work, but I have never read it; upon my soul I've no money to throw away, and in fact I've not much relish for works published in India: besides, who can write here?'—Who can write here? *that* is the question!"

In this same number of the *Review*, it may be mentioned, a volume of "Prose and Verse," from the Calcutta press was noticed: the book was written by Captain A. H. E.

* Sir John William Kaye, K.C.S.I., founder of the *Calcutta Review*; and who, true to his love of periodical literature, was present at the Newspaper Press Fund Dinner in London, 12th May, 1872; on which august occasion also the chair was filled by His Grace the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India, who, amidst the most important official duties, in addition to writing several works, has found time to communicate with various periodicals (including newspapers) on subjects of vast importance.

Boileau, of the Bengal Engineers, who had taken up the mantle which had been worn, and worn so well, by Dr. John Grant, Henry Meredith Parker, H. Torrens, R. Rattray, Captains Macnaghten and Richardson, as the supporters of Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature in days gone by; and who, now a colonel and commandant in his own corps, lectured to us on "Topography" on our opening night. The Colonel's various scientific attainments, and his Lectures on Iron Bridges were still well-known in Bengal. The familiar, good-humoured face comes vividly before me while writing this sketch. I behold him as he is pacing along, with his bearer behind him—that Oriental functionary being always ready to receive the huge *lathie* (stick), as long as a hop-pole, carried by the Colonel from door to door, in a manner quite patriarchal—his blue frock coat, with faded light-blue Bhurpoor ribbon of '26, buttoned up to the throat, even in the hottest weather; and, as he goes, pouring forth to those who sought it, his boundless stock of information. He was a genuine type of the old Indian school—generous to a fault, and abounding in anecdote. The Colonel's appearance in the lecture-room, after the severe official labours of the day, made every one happy; and, like Falstaff, he was not only witty in himself, but "the cause of wit in other men." Proposing to teach his audience how to take some measurement in the easiest way—gained from his vast experience in surveying—seizing the chalk and commencing—"You see the triangle, A B C," gave promise of a rather dry lecture; but soon the subject became deeply interesting from the introduction of a well-timed anecdote or illustration from his personal history; and all went home delighted. Not among the least worthy of old Indians departed, will appear this General (in that rank he died a few years since)—a sort of chief among "the old familiar faces"—one whom Charles Lamb would have delighted to take by the hand; and who, from the morning of life to its close, did battle in the East for the cause of knowledge and mental recreation in the small army of India's periodical writers.

Shortly after being criticised, I had the audacity to become an occasional Calcutta reviewer, when I began to carefully watch periodical literature in its various aspects, both at home and in India; and I became more and more convinced of its power and utility in the education of a people.

The number of the *Calcutta* (December, 1845) to which

allusion has already been made, is a very varied and interesting one, containing six leading articles, and four "miscellaneous critical notices"—the former consisting of elaborate essays on "Indian Buddhism, its Origin and Diffusion," "The Cape of Good Hope," "The Urdu Language and Literature," "Rammohun Roy," "Married Life in India," and "The Mahommedan Controversy"—the number almost a library in itself; and among the "notices," one of a "Charge delivered to the Grand Jury of Bombay by the Honourable Mr. Justice Perry" (Sir Erskine, and now (1872) Vice-President of the Council of India), and another of an anonymous pamphlet on the "Education of the people of India: its Political Importance and Advantages." The reviewer sums up his notice of the latter brief essay by remarking—"Undoubtedly, a *sound* education, widely diffused throughout the native community, of all classes and grades, must be regarded as one of the primary instruments of its effectual amelioration;" and as a set-off against "many disappointments and drawbacks," we are informed that the well-written "article in the present number, on *Rammohun Roy*—whose life embraces the commencement of that great social and moral revolution" through which India is "now silently but surely passing"—is the *bonâ fide* production of a native Hindu."

The foundation of a well-conducted periodical literature in India, carefully translated into the vernacular until English becomes (as it one day must) universal, I have long thought would produce the germs of a mighty revolution, especially in what is now in a decided transition state—the Hindu mind; and the Mahomedans too, or those of any persuasion who take an interest in their rulers, would have easy access to a knowledge of our present political power, and that in days gone by; of our national amusements and mental recreations, and of our scientific and literary attainments—all borne to the mind's eye with the idea of a highly Christianised civilisation. Such a hope could not have been entertained at the time of the publication, in 1780, of *Hicky's Gazette*, the first Indian newspaper.* This great event in the history of periodical literature in the East is duly recorded by the historian of Bengal with the importance it so well merits:—

"On the 29th January, 1780, the first newspaper ever published in India made its appearance in Calcutta." A newspaper could not have been started at a better time.

* *Calcutta Review*, No. II., August, 1844, p. 314.

The hands of Warren Hastings were indeed full, for he was employed during the next four years, chiefly out of Bengal, in managing the affairs of Benares and Oudh, in a war with the renowned Hyder Ali, the Rajah of Mysore, "and in negotiations all over India." But Mr. Hicky, and the society of which he wrote, afforded far from good examples for the improvement of the native community. "The whole picture of Anglo-Indian society, at this period, was a very bad one, and," remarks a Calcutta reviewer, "society must have been very bad to have tolerated *Hicky's Gazette*"—a strange contrast with the highly-polished and newsy *Globe* and *Pall Mall* of our time. Infamous slander is the chief material of which the first Indian journal is composed; and even Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, and the dignitaries of the Supreme Court, came in for their share; while colonels, missionaries, and beautiful young ladies just arrived for the marriage mart, are all mercilessly dealt with. At length Mr. Hicky thought it "a duty incumbent on him to inform his friends in particular, and the public in general, that an attempt was made to assassinate him last Thursday morning between the hours of one and two o'clock, by two armed Europeans, aided and assisted by a Moorman!" Such was the first Indian editor, the amusing chronicler of the gay and grave doings of a great age long passed away, the scene of whose labours was Calcutta, where, at that time, there was only one church, and deep drinking was considered a rational amusement. It may be interesting, while thinking of the improvment which has taken place since Hicky's time in our Indian newspapers, to look also at the improvement in civil and military salaries since then—not a bad theme for a reflective mind. When Sir Thomas Munro arrived in India, as a cadet, in 1780, his pay was five pagodas (17½ rupees, or 35s.*) a month, with free quarters, or ten pagodas without. Five pagodas and free quarters was the way generally followed. "Of the five pagodas," writes Mr. Munro, "I pay two to a Dubash, one to the servants of the mess, and one for hair-dressing and washing; so that I have one pagoda per month to feed and clothe me." Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), a civilian in the Secret and Political Department, on his arrival in India, in 1769, had only eight rupees a month:† but the "writer," as the young civilian was then always styled, was, in those days, allowed to trade under certain

* Taking the Sicca rupee, say £2.

† *Calcutta Review*, No. 1., May, 1844, p. 17.

restrictions. The mention of such eminent men suggests others of great celebrity in India, who, during the latter portion of the eighteenth century, even supposing no difficulty existed in paying for the newspaper or periodical, could not get the article of the intellectual quality they desired. It was a dark night, even in England for the broad-sheet. The sunny days of a penny *Daily News*, *Telegraph*, *Globe*, or *Standard*, and halfpenny *Echo*, were yet far remote. The future Sir John Malcolm, and Lord Metcalfe—of whom the biographer of the former has also written so well, and who was born in Calcutta in 1785, or two years after the great soldier and political, "Jan Malcolm Sahib," arrived in India—during their early labours must have gained but little assistance from the Indian press, of which Sir Charles Metcalfe was afterwards styled the Liberator, and on whose account the noble Metcalfe Hall, on the banks of the Hooghly, was erected by the citizens of Calcutta to perpetuate his name.

Under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, or from 1786 to 1793, the tone of social morality in India became much improved. The *Calcutta Review* informs us that the *India Gazette* of 1778 has an editoral congratulating its readers on the fact "that the pleasures of the bottle, and the too prevailing enticements of play, were now almost universally sacrificed to the far superior attractions of female society." It was the old story, now told in India, which had long been told in other parts of the world, and of which the editor of the *India Gazette* must have been an admirer, while bewailing bachelor life in Calcutta:—

> "Still slowly pass'd the melancholy day,
> And still the stranger wist not where to stray.
> The world was sad!—the garden was a wild!—
> And man, the hermit, sigh'd—till woman smiled."

Or, perhaps, the ideas of the lively Moore regarding the "superior attractions of female society," would have been more palatable to the editor of the *India Gazette* than those of the more sober Campbell, as in the well-known verse of the Irish melody:—

> "Oh! 'tis sweet to think that where'er we rove,
> We are sure to find something blissful and dear;
> And that when we are far from the lips we love,
> We have but to make love to the lips we are near!"

But such a "defence of inconstancy"—such a piloting off and bidding "good-bye!"—may be unjust to an age in

India when the precocious youth, the "girl of the period," and the periodical of sensational tales, had not yet appeared in England.

It is strange to think of what such men as Hicky and the above-mentioned editor would write about the law of progress, could they now behold Young Bengal in his railway carriage or steamer, with his *Friend, Englishman, Phœnix*, or *Pioneer*—all ministering to his social wants. Shades of Caxton, Watt, and Stephenson, the reality is a stern one!

On the 29th May, 1818, under the administration of Lord Hastings, the first efforts to improve the native mind by education, and by periodical literature in the shape of a native newspaper, were made. The journal appeared from the Serampore Press, and was styled the *Sumachar Durpun*. Lord Hastings took it into Council, and allowed it to be circulated at one-fourth of the ordinary postage. About the same period the Calcutta School-book Society was formed. Thousands of Natives began to learn the English language, and there was every sign of National Education struggling to be born. There is not space here to enter into even a brief account of the restrictions on the Indian press, after the departure of Lord Hastings; of the ejectment of Mr. Buckingham by Mr. John Adams; of the comparative freedom of the Indian journals during the last two years of Lord Amherst's administration; of the attacks on Lord William Bentinck for carrying out his masters' (the Court of Directors') orders, and the consequent renewed restriction on the press; or of its liberation by Sir Charles Metcalfe in September, 1835. About the year 1832 there were several Bengali newspapers, also a Bengali Magazine.

Let us now turn to the stars of Anglo-Indian periodical literature, some of which went out while giving fair promise of more glory, and to those whom to know was an honour, who, in their maturer years, thought sometimes with pride of the delight their writings gave while life's morning was opening on a brilliant Indian career.

I shall here bring the editorial *We* into operation, which was first adopted by the Printer, "the ostensible director of the paper,"* in 1640; just eighteen years after the first printed newspaper appeared in London—the *Weekly News* of Nathaniel Butter.

Of course the mighty Oriental (Hindustani) HUM (*We*) has existed from time immemorial. The first work we shall turn to is the "Bengal Annual," of which the number for

* Andrews.

1833 lies before us. This was a very successful publication while it lasted, and very superior in literary merit to some of the English Annuals. It was maintained for a few years at first without any engravings, but latterly with embellishments from Europe, which probably caused its abandonment as being too costly for India, and consequently unremunerative. Its principal contributors were Henry Meredith Parker, of the Bengal Civil Service; Captain D. L. Richardson (editor); John Grant, Apothecary-General; Lieutenant A. H. E. Boileau (the familiar face before mentioned), and numerous others, all of whose names are given in the respective volumes, which contain no anonymous productions. W. T. Robertson, C.S., R. H. Rattray, Lieutenants Macgregor and Westmacott, the Hon. Sir John Malcolm, Mrs. Hough, and Miss Anna Maria Mowatt, in addition to the names above mentioned, figure in a list of about fifty contributors to the "Bengal Annual" for 1833.

The volume, standing entirely on its literary merits—typography very good, bound in red (not morocco), with gilt edges, not a single illustration—opens with "An Oriental Tale," by the highly accomplished and versatile Henry Meredith Parker. This being the fourth number of the "Annual," which would make its foundation date from 1830, the London critics had ample time to decide on the merit of the Eastern stranger. The thing, to exist well, must be decidedly Oriental, was the unanimous voice from which there is no appeal. When men go to India to seek their fortunes, and women to the marriage-mart, to carry out what Dr. Johnson styles the great end of female education, to get husbands (an idea now exploded, but which the learned Doctor might have thought more sensible than soliciting "Female Suffrage" at home!) said the critics, when they take up the pen they must leave their British character behind them, and give us something of the marvellous, and Oriental-picturesque that we do not know. To please such a fastidious race, the "Oriental Tale" came forth; and it was thought so worthy of giving a flavour to "Bole Ponjis," that it appears in Mr Parker's collected writings under that title, published in 1851. Remarks from the *Monthly Review* and *Morning Herald* head the contribution, the former probably written by some lineal descendant of Smollett's friend, Mother Griffiths; and they may be accepted as curiosities of literature:—

"To us, at this side of the Ganges (which side?), subjects entirely Indian, or at least Asiatic, would be in general much more acceptable than those which we can easily obtain in our northern climate."—*Monthly Review.*

"The 'Bengal Annual' comes from about our antipodes (really!)—from the Calcutta Press, and is printed upon Indian paper. It would be well if the Eastern character had entered a little more into its contents."—*Morning Herald.*

The tale is full of fun and rich humour. Mounted on the pedestal of purpose, the tale-teller shouts forth: "Joseph, a duwnat (ink-stand), filled with the blackest ink of Agra, and 40,000 new Persian cullums (pens). Good! A fresh chillum; saturate the tatties with goolaub, scatter little mountains of roses, chumpah, and baubul blossoms about the room; bring me a vast serai of iced sherbert, pure juice of the pomegranate, you understand, and now here goes!"

And now commences an Oriental tale with a vengeance:—

"The snakes were prodigiously lively—thermometer stood precisely at 138° Fahrenheit in the sun, but was some degrees lower in the shade. There is an uproar! A tiger and a buffalo, coming to drink up the last quart of water which lies in a little patch of marsh, have got themselves into a sufficiently absurd situation: a playful boa has embraced them both. He, poor good-natured creature, quite unconscious of their dissatisfaction, has judiciously wrapped his tail round a pretty extensive clump of teak trees, and with the spare end of his body is uncommonly busy cracking the ribs of his companions, which go off like so many muskets, and otherwise preparing them in the most approved manner amongst boas for his supper. I said the snakes were prodigiously lively."

And so on, from the cracking of a tiger's tooth, fairly shivered by the heat, down to the adventures of Kubhadar Cham, Major Mimms, and his beloved Nealini. The escape of the dark-eyed Nealini and the redoubted Mimms from the pile which had been fired to burn them, is told with great humour; and the author, near the end, asks, "Who does not recollect the parties of the accomplished Lady Mimms at her mansion in Portland Place; her golden pawn-box; her diamond Hookah; the emerald in her nose, and her crimson silk trousers?" And again: "Who does not recollect General Sir Godfredo Mimms, K.C.B., with his side curls and his pigtail?" &c., &c.

With reference to the "side curls" thus mentioned as worn by the gallant Mimms, he may have worn them before he became a knight; and English readers will be inclined to allow a touch of fact to the above picture when they learn that, not very many years before the present writer went to India, a Commander-in-Chief's Order appeared in Madras, forbidding young officers to wear "side combs," as giving an "effeminate appearance" to officers in the Army; which most sensible Order, by the way, was said to have been written by His Excellency's admirable and gifted

lady!* Not a few who rose in the Madras army will recollect this Order.

The Calcutta Reviewer of "Bole Ponjis" says truly of Parker's writings: "There is many a transition from grave to gay, from lively to severe; but the prevalent characteristic of them is humour, which occasionally, as in the 'Oriental Tale,' becomes broad and open-mouthed, but which is generally of that chastened and tasteful kind which was probably more appreciated in former times than in these days."†

II.

Had Thomas De Quincey and Professor Wilson (Christopher North) served in India, what splendid contributions to Anglo-Indian periodical literature might have been expected from two such writers! How the Professor especially, in a country so stupendous, darkly mystical, and pagan, whose very ruins have an aspect of sublimity about them, would have added to what De Quincey, his friend and critic, styles, with reference to his periodical papers, "a *florilegium* of thoughts, the most profound and the most gorgeously illustrated that exist in human composition!" And what lights and shadows of Anglo-Indian life could Wilson have painted! That grief and joy are sisters, Christopher North in the "Noctes"—as the philosophical Adam Smith did before him—has sternly insisted on: "And this warld, ye ken, sir, and nane kens better, was made for grief as well as for joy."‡ How true it is that their very lives depend "on one and the same eternal law!" In India, perhaps, the sisters lie nearer to each other than in England. There would seem to be an intensity of feeling, even in the little occurrences of common life, in the company with which we spent the evening last night, and in "those frivolous nothings which fill up the void of human life," unknown elsewhere.

The exuberance of joy, the excess of grief—say, in the one case, from the exilarating morning ride; to the sportsman, from the pleasure and excitement of the wild-boar hunt; to the soldier, from the prospect of service and distinction; to the student, from the various phases of life in the "gorgeous East;" or from the brilliant social evening gathering at

* *See* also "Notes on some Madras Commanders-in-Chief," after Supplementary Chapter to "Distinguished Anglo-Indians."

† *Calcutta Review*, No. XXXII., December, 1851.

‡ *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, or, "Nights at Ambrose's."

the hand;—and in the other, from the not unfrequent suddenness of death; from the feeling of exile; from the necessity of what has been styled "the grand Indian sorrow"—parting with one's children;—these and a hundred other joys and sorrows are truly intense in the Indian land.

From gay to grave then, is a most natural step; and before parting with the "Bengal Annual" we shall present our readers with nearly the whole of a little poem, forming a strange contrast with the humorous "Oriental Tale," cited at the conclusion of our last paper:—

THE NEW-MADE GRAVE.

By H. M. Parker, Esq., C.S.

The grave! for whom?
What traveller on life's solemn path hath won
The quiet resting-place? whose toil is done?
Who cometh to the tomb?

Is it the sage,
Who, through the vista of a life well past,
Looked calmly forward to this lone, this last,
This silent hermitage?

Is it the brave,
The laurelled soldier of a hundred fields,
To whom the land he nobly warred for yields
A peaceful, honoured grave?

Doth the matron come,
Whom many bright-eyed mourners of her race
Will weep, when looking on her vacant place,
By the hearth of their sad home?

When the day dies,
Not unannounced comes the dark starry night;
To purple twilight melts the golden light
Of the resplendent skies.

And man, too, bears
The warning signs upon his furrowed cheek,
In his dimmed eye, and silvered hair, which speak
The twilight of our years.

But, oh! 'tis grief
To part with those who still upon their brow
Bear life's spring garland, with hope's sunny glow
On every verdant leaf.

To see the rose
Opening her fragrant glories to the light—
Half bud, half blossom, kissed by the cold blight
And perish ere it blows.

In our humble opinion, "the twilight of our years" is a beautiful idea simply rendered.

"The Draught of Immortality, and other Poems," by the same writer, is the title of a volume published in London in 1827. It reminds us at once of the famed *amreeta* cup in the "Curse of Kehama"—a poem condemned early in this century by the Edinburgh reviewers because they did not understand its mythological beauties—of which Kehama drinks, hoping to gain a blessed immortality; but Siva, the destroyer, has doomed him "to live and burn eternally." The graceful Kailyal drinks, and becomes a thing of immortal bliss; and father, daughter, and Glendoveer (good spirit), are now all enjoying happiness in the Hindu paradise. By writing "Kehama," Lord Byron said that Southey had "tied another canister to his tail"—the first canister being "Thalaba," severely handled in the *Edinburgh* in 1802. "By the way," writes the admirable Heber, some twenty years later, "what a vast amount of foolish prejudice exists about Southey and his writings." Few had read a line of his works, but all were inclined to criticise him; and now the "Kehama" is best known to the English public through the "Rejected Addresses:"—

> "I am a blessed Glendoveer:
> 'Tis mine to speak, and yours to hear!" *

Parker always received more kindness from his reviewers than the voluminous and versatile poet laureate. "The Draught of Immortality," by our great contributor to Anglo-Indian periodical literature, sometimes reminds us of Moore in "Lalla Rookh." The former has only twenty pages; the latter is an elaborate volume; but as the critics praised the "extraordinary accuracy of Mr. Moore, in his topographical, antiquarian, and characteristic details," even Sir John Malcolm saying the poet wrote "with the truth of the historian"—this same "Tom Moore," Byron's friend, let it be remembered, never having visited the glorious East—we are inclined to think that Parker, who knew and could describe Oriental scenes so well, could have written, had he turned his mind to it, the next best Oriental poem in the English language to "Lalla Rookh."

And now we proceed with our sketch. The *Meerut Universal Magazine*, commonly called "M. U. M." from its initials—

* "The imitation of the diction and measure, we think, is nearly almost perfect; and the descriptions as good as the original."—Note to "The Rebuilding, by R. S.," from the *Edinburgh Review*.

though, as a facetious friend observed, it was by no means *mum* in its character—was an exceedingly able periodical, got up principally by the late Sir Henry Elliott and Mr. H. Torrens, who also founded and contributed largely to the *Meerut Observer*. The latter journal was established in 1832, and is supposed to have been the first newspaper published in the Upper Provinces. Captain Harvey Tuckett—afterwards famous in the black-bottle duel with Lord Cardigan, to whose regiment (the 10th Hussars) he belonged—was also a contributor to the Meerut journal, and the initials "H. T." not unfrequently caused confusion. Here we may say that two of the most distinguished Bengal civilians that ever lived were Indian editors; and the three writers, Torrens, Elliott, and Meredith Parker, were not only three of the most brilliant men that ever did honour to the Civil Service of the East India Company, but three of the greatest, in the face of many obstacles, that ever did credit to our Anglo-Indian periodical literature. In general ability, for writing on any subject, Mr. H. Torrens appears to have seldom been surpassed by those to whom literature was not a profession. He was a classical scholar, had made himself master of most of the European languages, and had won a name in Oriental literature. He had not so large a share of purely poetical inspiration as his friend Parker, but he had quite as much quickness and versatility of mind. He seemed rather to have resembled Sir Henry Elliott in his mental acquirements than his other contemporaries. Writing just after the intelligence of Sir Henry's death at the Cape, Mr. Hume remarks:—"In their love for Eastern learning they were alike, and so they were in versatility of talent. Both were accomplished scholars, and the charm of the society in which they moved."* Mr. Torrens, amidst all his official labours and anxieties, found that which only great minds are able to find for everything—TIME. Parker was another example of this admirable faculty; and that great "utilitarian," Lord William Bentinck, who admired him (H. M. P.) for his versatile genius, was forced to admit "what he had hitherto considered impossible, that literary attainments and intelligence in dry official routine were qualifications which admitted of a happy combination." In addition to his other works, Torrens wrote "Remarks on the Scope and Uses of Military Literature and History," published in January,

* Biographical Memoir, by James Hume, Esq. (p. 108), published with "Writings Prose and Poetical," by Henry Torrens, Esq., B.A., vol. i.

1846, in the weekly *Eastern Star* (with the daily *Morning Star*, edited by Hume), and afterwards as a volume; and the *Calcutta Review* declared that the work was written with "great ability and clearness of analysis: evincing in the author intellectual powers of a high order, no less than extensive acquirements." In a welcome to the R. W. Br. Burnes, K.H. (1840), Mr. Torrens has the following graceful verse, which may be acceptable to "brothers of the mystic tie," or to "sons of light," as Burnes' kinsman, the great poet, also styles them, and who are more numerous and zealous in their good work in India than is generally supposed:—

> "Had you wandered among us all penniless poor,
> With no hope on the ocean, no home on the land,
> Oh! the key that you wot of had opened each door,
> And each brother stood by you with lip, heart, and hand."

It has been already remarked that the *Meerut Observer* was probably the first English newspaper published in the N.W., or Upper Provinces. The "Agra Ukhbar" (*Agra News*) was another receptacle about the same time, and several years later, for, in addition to brilliant leaders, all sorts of small periodical writing, such as growls from subalterns and apothecaries, and complaints from parties proceeding to the hills, composed of such valuable materials to every society, as beautiful young ladies with their admirers, disappointed widows, and manœuvring mothers!

Having touched on such delicate ground, at the risk of being considered slightly out of strict chronological order—for we should ere this have been with Captain David Lester Richardson (the famed "D. L. R."), and the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*—we proceed to remark that the "Mountain Wreath" was got up at Mussoorie, in 1834, by the brothers French, of the Civil Service, Captain Arthur Broome, of the Bengal Artillery, and others (including Lieutenant A. H. E. Boileau), and was illustrated with drawings, running only to two or three numbers, and was never put in print, though some of its articles were equal to the general run of those in the "Bengal Annual." Mountain air, if anything can, should rarefy the intellect; and this is, perhaps, the reason why the leaders in the principal London journals are so much more brilliant in and immediately after August than before. Catching a fine trout, or shooting a brace or two of grouse, is the best of all medicines for a worn city editor. How he would enjoy a day's recreation, even without the grouse and

front, in the magnificent valley of the Dehra Doon! Mussoorie 7,000, and Landour 8,000 feet above the sea, are almost close together, on the northern side of the Doon. The views from these sanitaria for Europeans are very beautiful, corresponding in this respect with the famed Neilgherries (blue mountains) of the Madras Presidency. No level ground, and the houses built upon terraces cut out of the solid rock, it really is to be wondered at why the "Mountain Wreath" was not a decided success! What sublime ideas could some of our London poets attain—the vapid "Fleshly School" included—by writing with the eye resting on the north upon "successive tiers of mountain ranges, terminating in the snowy peaks of the Himalaya!"* We shall dismiss the "Mountain Wreath" with a little anecdote of one of its contributors, which is not unknown to several officers of the old Indian army. It may be styled

WAITING FOR A GOVERNOR.

Two young officers, one being the periodical writer, called to pay their respects to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. Only those who have been in India can fully estimate the high position of such a functionary. His Honour happened to be absent at the time of the visit; but, after some time, returning, the grey-bearded *chuprassie* announced that there were two gentlemen waiting to see the *burra sahib* (great master). Gazing with his searching eyes on the middle of the reception-room, "Where are they?" inquired his Honour, in the purest Persian. "*Dekho, sahib!*" ("See, sir!") exclaimed the faithful Mussulman, pointing to two corners of the room, in one of which was our periodical friend standing on his head, his uniform making the attitude more ludicrous; and in the other stood his brother officer in a similar position, both seemingly determined not to be deprived of amusement while waiting for a Lieutenant-Governor!

Should this Anglo-Indian sketch fall into the hands of the philanthropic Earl of Shaftesbury,† his Lordship may bring to memory the conclusion of his speech on the second reading of the Acrobat's Bill (July 4, 1874):—"At one of the

* To complete the picture of such a magnificent field for the poet:—"On the south, the Dehra Doon, more than 4,000 feet below, appears with its fields, forests and rivulets, and beyond the Sewalik range, as far as the vision can reach, are seen the fertile plains of Upper India."

† The death of this highly esteemed nobleman, in 1885, was, in many respects, a national calamity.

schools with which he was acquainted, there was a boy who, in consequence of having undergone his training, could not do his lessons unless he went and stood on his head in a corner for three or four minutes every now and then." (Laughter.) Perhaps the accomplished officers just cited* thought the act requisite to give the necessary composure to ask for an appointment as well as to amuse! But, whether from necessity or a love of the ludicrous, we see in life, every day, clever men as well as boys playing "fantastic tricks before high heaven."

Let us now turn to the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, which brings us to think of the literary labours of Captain D. L. Richardson. This periodical was established upwards of forty years ago, was tolerably successful for some years, when it declined and became merged into the Saturday edition of the *Bengal Hurkaru* (messenger), the old Calcutta journal, which had previously swallowed up and attached to its popular name the old *India Gazette*. The original was printed after the fashion of its English prototype; but though containing very able and interesting articles, it does not appear to have paid as a literary speculation; and it perhaps weakened its resources by decling to insert anonymous articles even when authenticated by their authors. The *Literary Gazette* seems to be an unfortunate name for a journal. There is something not sufficiently defined about it. Jerdan did a great deal for the London journal, which he founded; but when he left it, the change of hands was manifest, till at length it disappeared from the scene, and became merged in some other paper.

Richardson's literary fame commenced with the "Literary Leaves." His "Selection from the British Poets," with notices biographical and critical, were compiled and collected for the use of the Government Educational Institution of Bengal. In the work, partly written from this, entitled "Lives of the British Poets," there are what a Calcutta reviewer says pervade the "Literary Leaves,"—"a fine taste and acute observation, combined with a polished style and a most candid exercise of the critic's office." We recollect the literary "Chit-Chat," while it was being published in the "Literary Gazette" of the "Hurkura," in 1847; just seventeen years after Richardson became a giant in Anglo-Indian periodical literature, fourteen years after the publication of his "Ocean Sketches and Other Poems," and twelve after that of his chief work, the "Literary Leaves."

* Both of them rose to high rank and position.

To give some idea of his work as an editor, the following is a correct enumeration of his labours in this respect:—

Bengal Annual, from 1830 to 1836 . .	7 Vols.
Calcutta Literary Gazette, from 1830 to 1835 .	6 ,,
Calcutta Magazine, from 1830 to 1833 . .	10 ,,
Total . . .	23 Vols.

As a volume, the lively and earnest "Chit-Chat" was reviewed, with his other works, in the *Calcutta* of September, 1848. And a most elaborate and learned review it is—one hundred and twenty pages on the "Literary Labours of D. L. Richardson." The reviewer brings out Macaulay in an arrogant light, hinting that "D. L. R." wished "the mighty member of the Council," the Whig and Edinburgh Reviewer, the "monopoliser" of all conversation, the idol for the hour in Calcutta, to write for him. What a catch he would have been! But fancy the brilliant man of genius, who had read every book and knew everything, fancy him "condescending to write one line for a *Calcutta Annual*, or a *Literary Gazette!*"

During the appearance, every Saturday, of the *Chit-Chat*, "Agellius"—a writer whose will was perhaps greater than his power to become a star in Anglo-Indian periodical literature—published a series of "Saturday Sketches" in the *Literary Gazette of the Hurkaru*." Among them were the "Author in India," the "Missionary," the "Cantonment Beauty" (this would make a capital title for a novel!), the "Apothecary," the "Eccentric Captain," the "Indian Editor," &c.—the whole an attempt to sketch some of the principal portraits in the chequered drama of Anglo-Indian life. He also wrote in the same journal "A New Review of an Old Poem—Southey's Curse of Kehama!"

Let us now turn to a goodly tome, "The Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register of Occurrences throughout the British Dominions in the East, forming an Epitome of the Indian Press for the year 1838."* This remarkable volume, in size reminding one of Lord Macaulay's famous description of Dr. Nares' work on "Burleigh and his Times"—which book "contains as much reading as an ordinary library"—commences with an admirable biographical and critical sketch of D. L. R. and his works, by Mr. (now Sir John) Kaye, who was a true friend of Richardson's to the

* Third series, vol. iv.

last, when friendship and kindness were most required. The remarks concerning the difficulties under which a writer labours in our Indian community are of great value:—"Almost everybody in Calcutta knows the names, and perhaps the persons, of each writer in the different periodicals . . . . One person will not think much of a writer who happened to be, many years ago at college, inferior to him in scholastic attainments: another will recognize in a particular writer a junior officer, and will not admit of intellectual, where there is not military precedence: a third will say that A. is un-educated, or B. quite a boy, or C. too fond of society—and thus deny their right to set themselves up as public instructors. But all this is exceedingly unfair, exceedingly mortifying, and exceedingly embarrassing. The writings, not the writers, should be canvassed." No man—civilian, military officer, or merchant—who ever came to India, had perhaps, so much right to utter such opinions as Mr. Kaye, who founded the *Calcutta Review* six years afterwards. Every word is truth, and defies question. It is most interesting to get some earlier glimpses than we have yet given at the life of such a man as D. L. R.

According to the sketch we wish to introduce to our readers, David Lester Richardson was born in the first year of the present century. When only eight years old he lost his father,* a Colonel of the Bengal Establishment, who contributed to the "Asiatic Researches," and was an excellent Oriental linguist. D. L. R. entered the Company's service in 1819, and first appeared as a poet in 1820, "when he began to send his verses to the *Calcutta Journal*, which was then under Buckingham's editorial management."

Soon after arrival in Europe, on medical certificate (in 1825), Richardson, through the publication of "Sonnets and other Poems," became admired in London as a poet. Regarding this difficult style of writing, Mr. Kaye says that most of the sonnets are "exquisitely finished and full of genuine poetry. We think that, with the exception of Milton's and Wordsworth's they are equal to any in the language." As a proof of his volume's popularity, it was included in a well-known diamond edition of the British poets, Richardson being "the only *living* bard whose works are included in the collection" (1827). About this time the Indian subaltern established in the Metropolis the *London Weekly Review*, expending thereon a large portion of his patrimony, which was considerable. His uncle, Colonel Sherwood, of

* He was lost on his passage home to Europe.

the Artillery, had often said to him, "You are the richest ensign in India; if you go home you will return a beggar." The Colonel's prediction was in a fair way of being verified. D. L. R. edited *The Weekly Review* (of which he was sole proprietor), "in conjunction with Mr. St. John, author of the 'Anatomy of Society,' 'Margaret Ravenscroft,' and some works of Oriental travel. Hazlitt, Bowring, Roscoe, Moir, Pringle, and many other eminent writers were amongst the contributors to this journal." So, no wonder, when he wrote in such splendid company, that the proprietor of this most talented and "most honest weekly periodical" should one day become such an ornament to periodical literature in India. In 1828, Richardson sold *The Weekly Review* to Mr. Colburn, and, "began to think he had better return to his old profession in India." When it was known that he was about to return, his literary associates gave him a farewell dinner, at which Thomas Campbell, the poet, presided. Martin, "the poet-painter," and General Miller, who had distinguished himself by his "more than chivalrous services" in South America, were present; and the poet of "Hope," and some of the finest and most stirring odes in our language, considered the meeting as "an occasion of offering their sincere congratulations to their friend and guest, on the literary reputation he had already so creditably achieved, and their fervent hopes that his departure for India, which he had resolved upon, for reasons perfectly consistent with the spirit and manliness of his character, would furnish no bar to his fair and promising prospects in literature."

We cannot part with Mr. Kaye's sketch of D. L. R. without remarking on the excellence of the criticism contained therein. He tries to do his author full justice, and evinces what are styled the characters of taste—delicacy and correctness at every turn:—"'The Ocean Sketches' are bright, Turner-like sea-views—they are beautiful, and dazzling, and highly-coloured; they attract the eye at once, but we cannot linger on them—they awaken scenic remembrances, but not heartfelt associations, and therefore they do not dwell upon the mind. The spirit of humanity pervades them not. They are gorgeous views without a figure in them, and therefore they lack vitality. This is a fault, which, we acknowledge, lies more in the subject than in the execution of the pictures; but we *have* a fault to find with their execution. 'The Ocean Sketches' are overladen with epithets," &c.

Again, the reviewer, alluding to Richardson's "Home

Visions" being realised when once again he trod the shores of Old England, gives utterance to the following natural reflections, with which every Indian officer with a soul must agree:—"Oh! is it not worth a few years' exile—a few years of heart solitude in a strange land—to feel the exulting spirit, the bounding pulse, the access of animal life, the buoyancy, the hopes which stir within us, when we plant our foot upon the strand of Merry England, and feel its mild airs breathing on us once more?" This feeling is increasing; men no longer consider India as their home. Even the proposed hill colonies will not do away with the joyful expression—so dear to every true Briton—"This is my own, my native land!"

The most famous literary competitor with Richardson was Dr. Hutchinson, Secretary to the Medical Board, and author of the "Sunyasse," a poem which, although possessing fine touches of feeling and fancy, was attacked with "all the virulence of offended criticism."* But the Doctor's merits, says a Calcutta reviewer, were not "fairly tested." With reference to Richardson's prose, Mr. Kaye records his opinion that "in grace of diction and felicity of expression, few writers have surpassed D. L. R." A small extract from the essay "On Children"—quoted by the biographer and critic—will at once convince our readers of the truth of this remark:—

"CHILDREN.

"The changing looks and attitudes of children afford a perpetual feast to every eye that has a true perception of grace and beauty: they surpass the sweetest creations of the poet or the painter. They are prompted by maternal Nature, who keeps an incessant watch over her infant favourites, and directs their minutest movements, and their most evanescent thoughts. . . . . It is a sweet enjoyment to watch the first glimmering of the human mind, and to greet the first signs of joy that give life and animation to the passive beauty of an infant's face, like the earliest streaks of sunshine upon opening flowers. But, alas! this pleasure is too often interrupted by the sad reflection that the bright dawn of existence is succeeded by a comparatively clouded noon, and an almost starless night. Each year of our life is a step lower on the radiant ladder that leads to heaven, and when we at last descend into the horrible vault of death, our best hope is that we may rise again to a state resembling the happy purity of our childhood."

In this same number of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, we have ten biographical sketches (including that of D. L. R.), each lord of human kind being honoured with a capitally-etched portrait for the august occasion. James Sutherland; Lieutenant J. W. Kaye, Hon. Company's Artillery; Sir

* *Calcutta Review* for December, 1845.

Edward Ryan; John Pearson, Esq., Advocate General; Sir J. P. Grant; Puisne Judge, Calcutta; the *soi-disant* Raja Pertaub Chund; John Ross Hutchinson, Esq.; Longueville Loftus Clarke, M.A., F.R.S.; Alexander Ross, Esq., late President of the Council of India—all pass before us in rapid succession, as brilliant members of a society which—originally springing from the middle classes—has seldom been equalled upon earth. In the *Journal*, also, we have a few glimpses of the "great literary Lycurgus, Mr. Macaulay."

We learn that, while in Calcutta, he undertook to prepare a work of selections from our prose writers, to correspond with a similar work on our poets, by Richardson (then Professor of Literature in the Hindu College): but, having sketched out the design, he left it to be completed by Sir Edward Ryan.* Again, some observations having been made relative to the personal hostility which the press manifested towards Mr. Macaulay, the *Bengal Herald* replied that the press "says nothing about him in his personal capacity, nor cares about him in his personal capacity." The *Calcutta Monthly Journal*—naturally indignant at the strong feelings of hostility towards such a man—being assured that the line of distinction had *not* been drawn between his personal and his official character, says:—"We appeal to the experience of everyone who has been in the habit of reading the papers, whether for three years the whole artillery of the press—from the great guns of the *Hurkaru* and the *Englishman*, to the little swivel of the "Gyananneshun"—has not been directed against him with a degree of vehemence and perseverance unexampled in the history of the Indian press." Such conduct towards a master-mind, one who could rise from the "Black Acts" to examine the moral and intellectual character of Bacon, is wholly unjustifiable.

There are just two other sketches in this volume to which we shall allude briefly, and these are James Sutherland, who in 1827 became editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*; and John William Kaye, who was also its editor, crowning his periodical literary labours when he projected and founded the *Calcutta Review*, in 1844, some time after the elaborate criticism on his works in the *Monthly Journal*. Mr. Sutherland, at the early age of fourteen, went to sea, and spent seven years in the Navy as a midshipman. He served in a dashing frigate, the *Acasta*, commanded by Captain Ker, a famous "tartar."

* The present (1875) First Commissioner of the Civil Service Commission, in London, who was formerly Chief Justice in Calcutta.

from whom the "Sea-Fielding," Captain Marryat, in "Peter Simple," may have drawn the portrait of "Captain Savage." In 1815, the *Acasta* was paid off; and Sutherland, not long after, became a "Country Captain," and a zealous contributor to Anglo-Indian periodical literature. His first connection with the Indian press was in 1818, when he joined Mr. Buckingham (who had also been a sailor) in the office of the celebrated *Calcutta Journal*. As many other sensible men have done before him, he married, again went to sea, speculated, lost; and when, early in 1823, Mr. Buckingham was "so tyrannically ordered out of the country," he again joined the staff of the above journal as reporter and contributor. Sutherland played a most conspicuous part in all the press squabbles of that most interesting period in Calcutta, when men thought they were beginning to die for want of what Junius styles "the air we breathe"—the liberty of the press! In 1826 he resigned the editorship of the *Hurkaru*. Sutherland had also managed the *Bengal Herald* at the same time, in which journal appeared some of his best articles, literary and political. Here are a few remarks* on

"CAPTAIN MARRYAT.

"Editor.—He has neither the learning, nor, perhaps, the graphic power of Smollett in delineating the human character, but he is a delightful writer, and I have heard men of your profession say that some of his descriptions in 'Peter Simple' surpass anything in the same line in the works of any living writer, not excepting Cooper, the American—the club-hauling, for example. What say you?

"Nauticus.—I entirely agree in that estimate of his literary character. He is the best nautical novelist of the day, out and out; and I doubt his inferiority to Smollett, except in learning. . . . . His Peter Simple is a character, I will engage, drawn from the life, nay—I have actually known such a character, and some of his miseries while he was yet a Johnny Raw, are such as probably every naval officer has felt."

No one had a better right to criticise a sea-novel than Mr. Sutherland. Alas! we shall never have another genuine tale of the sea: the force of education, steam and the ironclads, have rendered such a thing impossible. We now turn to contemporary biography, while its subject was of the military service. Mr. Kaye arrived in India in 1833, having been appointed to the Bengal Artillery, and soon (1834) became a regular contributor to Richardson's *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, in which he wrote the first of a series of papers, entitled "The Essayist." The subject is "The Pen and the

* Written between 1834 and 1836.

Pencil;" and the powerful critic *in esse* is immediately displayed by some discriminating and ingenious remarks which would have done credit to Hazlitt himself. There is time for both poetry and painting in India, and it is pleasant to see their relative advantages and pleasures so well set forth by an Indian officer. Which is the more likely to be, "not for an age, but for all time?" is, after all, the grand question. All his essays in this series are written in a most pleasing style, evincing great knowledge, and causing us to wonder how the Artillery Cadet at Addiscombe found time to read up aught save mathematics and fortification. Mr. Kaye appears to have been born with all the feelings of a genuine author, which is proved by his just and striking remarks on "Excitement of Publication—Disappointment of Genius." Besides the essays to the *Gazette* he contributed many poetical effusions, a story entitled the "Double First,"—in which the character of "Everard Sinclair," one of the principal personages of his novel of "Jerningham," is developed—and "Gasper Henric," a tale in twelve chapters. All these were written within the short space of six months; and when the climate of India—and particularly Calcutta—is considered, such literary industry is truly wonderful. In the rains of 1834 he had no less than three severe attacks of fever, and in the same year he returned to England. On arrival in Europe, in Jersey, he printed, for private circulation, a small volume of poems, some from the *Literary Gazette*, to which he had been such an ornament—all of which evince decided poetical talent. His "Invocation to the Spirit of Beauty" would have done credit to the imaginative Shelley. Mr. Kaye's "Jerningham; or, the Inconsistent Man," was published in June, 1836; and, we read, his various works of fiction "elicited the highest praise from some very able critics."

Striking specimens of the beautiful and pathetic—especially in "Margaret's Song"—are to be found in "Jerningham."

A brief specimen must suffice from the "Song," which is quoted in full in the *Calcutta Journal*:

"I pine—I wither—I am dying—a captive in a great prison house. I shiver with cold; I am girt about with ice. I wander here and there, but all is dark and desolate. My soul harmonizes with eternal nature. How can I be joyous in this place, where everything around me is so drear? I speak in the language of my country; it is my only solace—I have none beside it. I am a wretched outcast. Why was I not cut off in my infancy? It is better to die in Italy than to live anywhere else in the world."

"Doveton; or, the Man of Many Impulses," is con-

sidered by the Calcutta critic, "both in design and execution, an extraordinary production." It is an allegory "in which certain qualities of the mind are embodied in the characters." It is enough to say of this work that it received high praise in the *Court Magazine* from the female Byron—the Honourable Mrs. Norton. We have no space to cite other works by Mr. Kaye up to 1838, but we feel it a duty to remark on the extraordinary powers displayed by one who could write graceful essays and verses at nineteen and twenty, and striking romances before the morning of life had fled; and who in later years became the stern Calcutta reviewer of facts and fallacies, the historian of wars and the biographer of eminent men * whose like, take them for all in all, we shall not look upon again.

We cannot dismiss the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* without alluding to the Free Press Dinner at the Town Hall of Calcutta. The liberation of the Indian Press by Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, as before remarked, dates from the 15th of September, 1835. On the present occasion Sir Charles, having been invited as the guest of the evening, the annual celebration was postponed to the 9th of February (1838). As dates are of consequence in our sketch, we should also mention that the date of annual celebration is here given as the 15th of December. Mr. Longueville Clark presided, and Mr. Henry Meredith Parker was in the vice-chair. One hundred and ninety-six gentlemen sat down to dinner. Sir Charles sat at the head of the table between the Chairman and Mr. R. D. Mangles. The many toasts and speeches were grand and suitable in their character; but, as belonging to the profession of arms, we prefer giving an extract from that of the Vice-President, Mr. Henry Meredith Parker, with whom we have already made our readers acquainted:—"Gentlemen; my toast is the British Army. (Cheers.) I know there has been discussion infinite touching the politics of the British Army. Whether it was Whiggish or Toryish, Reformatory or Conservative—whether it loved a Free Press or did not love a Free Press—for my own part, I will own to you candidly that I don't care a fig what its politics are, or what its feelings are on the question I have hinted,—it is sufficient for me to know, that through long years of peril and gloom the British Army fought and bled, that the hearths and altars of their country might not be polluted by a foreign foe. (Cheers.) It is sufficient for me to feel that it placed between a terrible

* Metcalfe, Malcolm, Sir Henry Lawrence, Neill, &c.

enemy and our pleasant fields and native homes the iron barrier of its indomitable valour. (Cheers.) I can no more bring myself to care for the politics of our brave soldiers than I can care for those of that glorious chief who led them crowned with victory from the Rock of Lisbon to the gates of Toulouse, and from the wood of Soignés to the towers of Notre Dame. (Cheers.)" C. P. Prinsep, Esq., in a pithy speech, gave "Trial by Jury, the bulwark of the Freedom of the Press." Mr. Stocqueler (Editor of the *Englishman*), a well-known Indian periodical writer, was then called on by the Chairman to sing:—

> "In the glorious old days of the glorious old Bess
> (Though she scarce would have suited the present, I guess!)
> The chronicles say that a newspaper first
> On the wondering eyes of our forefathers burst.
> Sing Ballinamora, Ora,
> Huzza, for the Press is now free!"

The newspaper here alluded to was published in England in 1588, by the authority of Queen Elizabeth, at the time of the Spanish Armada. Its object was "to allay the general anxiety, and to hinder the dissemination of false and exaggerated statements." After holding forth the hardships of Indian editors—the glorious "jackals for India of the British lion!"—Mr. Stocqueler sang:—

> "Aye, and still by her friends, through the world shall be loved
> *His* name, who that badge of our slavery remov'd;
> And year after year shall resound in this hall
> The glory of METCALFE, who freed us from thrall.
> Sing, &c., &c., &c."

The Chairman—one of the most gentlemanly-looking men who ever came to India—well remarked on this great occasion, what few will venture to deny:—"In those countries where the Press is most free, is knowledge most diffused. It not only imparts instruction, but incites to learning: and the man who is opposed to the freeing of the Indian Press must be the foe to enlightening the natives. (Loud Cheers.)" In short, there are two hundred millions in India to be instructed through Education and the Press; and, if those who wield such powerful weapons do not exercise their calling discreetly, they will have much to answer for.

At this stage we shall remark that, after the expiration of the East India Company's trading charter in 1834, some of our best Indian newspapers came into existence. The *Bombay Times* in 1836-37, established a great reputation, under Dr. Buist, its highly accomplished editor. Mr. Knight

succeeded Dr. Buist, changing the title of the paper to the *Times of India*. The *Friend of India*, in 1837-38, grew rapidly into notice, under John Marshman, son of the eminent missionary: and even now has one of the largest circulations among Indian journals. Marsham, Smith, Townsend, and others less known to fame, despite a few crotchets, struggled to make the Serampore journal in every sense the *Friend of India*. The *Hurkaru* has already been mentioned; but "old Hurky" exists no longer.

The *Englishman*, under Mr. (afterwards Sir Macdonald) Stephenson (who succeeded Stocqueler); the *Star*, under James Hume (who wrote the famous letters in the *Eastern Star*, by an Idler), flourished in Calcutta.* In Madras, the *Athenæum*, projected and founded by Pharaoh (1837-38), and the *Spectator*, by James Ouchterlony—who, after fairly starting the paper (now defunct), was succeeded by Glover in the editorship—were our earliest South of India journals. The *United Service Gazette* (now defunct) was a favourite among the military thirty years ago, when it was under the management of Captain Langley, formerly an officer in the Madras Cavalry. India at the present time is well supplied with newspapers; and the *Friend of India*, the up-country papers, such as the *Pioneer*, and *Delhi Gazette*,† the *Indian Daily News* (Calcutta), the *Madras Times*, *Madras Mail*, the *Times of India*, the *Sindian* and *Our Paper* (both published at Kurrachee, in Sind), the *Rangoon Gazette* and *Times* (both published at Rangoon, in Burma), the *Ceylon Observer*, *North China Herald*, *Penang Argus*, and other journals, keep us well acquainted with what is going on in Queen Victoria's splendid Eastern dominions. The wonderful rapidity with which Indian news is anticipated (taking from the freshness of the overland summaries) by the telegraph, is enough to make our forefathers leap from their graves, when we consider that formerly (1811) it took ten or twelve months to get an answer to a letter or a despatch from India; and now the Viceroy can send a message to the India Office, in London, and be quite sure of its arriving safely there, per-

* Mr. Butcher was also, if we recollect right, connected with the *Star*.

† The *Delhi Gazette*, under Mr. Place, and the *Moffussilite*, when edited by its founder, John Lang, attained very high positions in Indian newspaper literature. The *Neilgherry Excelsior*, edited by Mr. Kenrick, and the *South India Observer*, under that veteran champion of the Press, James Ouchterlony (formerly of the *Madras Spectator*), also the *Bangalore Herald*, were the chief up-country papers in the Madras Presidency. The up-country ("Moffussil," or district) papers in India are generally weekly and tri-weekly; the dailies being confined to the Presidency towns.

haps (on account of the difference of the time in the two countries) even before its leaving the City of Palaces! The telegraph may again save us India, as it did in 1857.

III.

THE foundation of the *Calcutta Review* is quite as important an event in the history of our indigenous Indian literature as that of the far-famed *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* at home. Sydney Smith, the original projector of the "blue and yellow," and Sir Walter Scott, the Ariosto of the North, who started the *Quarterly* as its Tory rival, doubtless would have greatly admired the idea of founding a Review in the City of Palaces, where the love of a high order of critical literature seemed at a discount, and the spirit of man in general was very far from divine. The *Tenui musam meditamur avena* motto, originally proposed by the Edinburgh reviewers for their journal—"We cultivate literature upon a little oatmeal"—seemed about to give place to one announcing its cultivation on a little curry and rice, which humble but popular repast, to the *Calcutta's* staff, amidst so many disadvantages of climate, promised to be permanent. But energy in this matter, as in everything else, had its glorious triumph. It had occurred to Mr. Kaye, then residing in Calcutta, to establish a Review, similar in form and character to our great British Quarterlies, but entirely devoted to Indian subjects and Indian questions. It was indeed a bold and seemingly hopeless experiment; "and," writes Mr. Kaye, "success astonished no one more than myself."* And, again, speaking of one of the greatest on the roll of India's heroes and statesmen, he says, "That it did succeed is, in no small measure, attributable to the strenuous support of Henry Lawrence." Truly, the hour had come and the man; or, perhaps, we should say the men! The *Calcutta* was precisely the organ for which Lawrence had been wishing, "as a vehicle for the expression of his thoughts;" and although, up to the time of its projection, he had never seen Mr. Kaye, his kindly heart and vigorous pen were at once placed at the disposal of one who had been a brother officer in the Bengal Artillery, and

* . . . . The best service which I ever rendered in India, or, indeed, for India, was the establishment, single-handed, of the *Calcutta Review*, which has done far more for Indian literature than anything I have written under my own name.—J. W. KAYE, Athenæum Club, June 23, 1872.

under whose "peculiar care" the coming Review was first to see the light. Lord Ellenborough had selected Lawrence to fill the highly important post of Resident at the Court of Nepaul. He had to "wait and watch" rather than "interfere." As soon as he heard that the *Calcutta* had been started, he "promised to contribute to *every* number."* But before this time the great "political" had contributed to some of the up-country journals, especially to the *Delhi Gazette*, in which appeared the "Adventurer in the Punjaub," a most interesting series of papers afterwards published in London, by Mr. Colburn. To the same journal another distinguished soldier and political of the Indian army—Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes, eventually "Calcutta" reviewer—also contributed, under the strange but comprehensive signature of the "Brahminy Bull."

The first number of the Review was too far advanced for the editor to avail himself of Lawrence's aid. To this number Dr. Duff contributed one article; Captain Marsh, of the Bengal Cavalry, an earnest minded and singularly gifted man, contributed another; *and the editor wrote all the rest.* The latter remark evinces energy and literary heroism on the part of the editor, seldom equalled, and which only those who know something of India and its literature can fully appreciate. To come out in the month of May—the hottest in Calcutta—to do battle with ignorance, and probably superstition, required as much courage as to lead a forlorn hope! And, doubtless, such an idea crossed the mind of the statesman at Nepaul (whose father, Lieutenant Lawrence, had commanded the left column of General Baird's forlorn hope at Seringapatam),† while gloating with intense delight over the first number of the Indian "Quarterly." May, 1844, then, we consider, beyond all question, the most important month and year in the history of Indian Periodical Literature. Well might each reader in such weather, with thermantidotes going, and punkahs in full swing, exclaim with our friend, Mr. Parker:—

> "But all in vain I sigh for lands
> Where happy cheeks with cold look blue;
> While here in the shade the mercury stands
> At ninety-two."

* "Lives of Indian Officers." By John William Kaye, author of the "History of the War in Afghanistan," &c.—(1869)—p. 113 to 116—"Sir Henry Lawrence."

† "Thus wrote, in the first year of the present century, Colonel Alexander Beatson, historian of the war with Tippoo Sultan, and of the famous siege of Seringapatam."—KAYE.

The contents of the first number must be cited to give a finish to our sketch. "1. The English in India—Society Past and Present. 2. Lord Teignmouth. 3. Our Earliest Protestant Mission to India. 4. Ouchterlony's Chinese War. 5. The Condition-of-India Question—Rural Life in Bengal. 6. The Ameers of Sindh. Postscript:—The Massacre at Benares. Miscellaneous Notices." The motto is from Milton, more benign than the terribly critical *Judex damnatur, cum nocens absolvitur* of the *Edinburgh*:—"No man who has tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who not content with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth: even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."

To the second number Henry Lawrence contributed "a long and very interesting chapter of Punjabee history"—recent history of the Punjab; the other contributors, besides the editor, being Mr. Marshman of the *Friend of India*, Dr. Duff,* and his colleague, the Rev. Thomas Smith. After this, Lawrence's contributions became more numerous. He generally "furnished two or three papers to each number of the Review." Mr. Kaye also tells us that he once undertook to supply to one number "four articles, comprising 116 pages." The historian, biographer, and critic, writes that "his contributions were gravid with matter of the best kind—important facts, accompanied by weighty opinions and wise suggestions." Like other great men, Lawrence was always deploring, and not without reason, his want of literary skill! Yet the editor generally considered his contributions as the most popular in the Review. His article on the "Military Defence of our Indian Empire" evinced that knowledge which every true soldier ought to possess. He continued to the end of his life to contribute at intervals to the now well-established periodical, and was, when the rebellion of 1857 broke out, employed in a review of the

* We cannot look at the name of this famous missionary and distinguished Anglo-Indian, without thinking of the high esteem in which he was generally held in India. How pleased this eminent man would have been to have had a last word with the Centenarian Native Christian, David Devavoram, for half a century associated with the London Mission at Bangalore. In 1886, the year of his death, we read, "He remembered Tippoo, Wellington, and Munro very well, and was acquainted with Mark Cubbon and other worthies of his day."

"Life of Sir John Malcolm" (in our opinion one of Mr. Kaye's greatest works), which he never lived to complete.*

We shall now give some brief extracts from the *Calcutta Review*, from articles by Kaye, Lawrence, and Edwardes. The first three are from the editor's contribution on "The Ameers of Sindh:"—

"The Sindh Ameers, it is said, violated treaties. It would seem as though the British Government claimed to itself the exclusive right of breaking through engagements. If the violation of existing covenants ever involved, *ipso facto*, a loss of territory, the British Government in the East would not now possess a rood of land between Burhampooter and the Indus. . . . . But the real cause of this chastisement of the Ameers consisted in the chastisement which the British had received from the Afghans. It was deemed expedient at this stage of the great political journey, to show that the British could beat some one; and so it was determined to beat the Ameers of Sindh. It is true that two victorious armies had marched upon Caubul through the eastern and western countries of Afghanistan, and carried everything before them; but it was deemed expedient immediately to withdraw those armies. . . . . Far be it from us to say that British rule may not, in time, become a blessing. If we were not hopeful of better things—if we saw before us nothing but dreary stagnation—if we believed that the evils, of which we have endeavoured to give some intelligible exposition, were irremediable evils—evils inextricably and eternally interwoven with the whole fabric of Hindustani society, we should not have launched this Review into being."

The last remark is significant as connected with periodical literature in India; so before turning to the "Howard of the Punjab"—the noble artillery colonel, Sir Henry Lawrence—for something striking, let us look for a moment into "Contemporary Biography,"† where, beside the name of J. W. Kaye is written: "English historical writer;" that he served in the Bengal Artillery from "1835 to '45;" that he entered the Home Civil Service of the East India Company in 1856, when he was appointed secretary to the Political and Secret Department, which highly important post he now holds in the India Office; and that he is the author of "The History of the War in Afghanistan," "Christianity in India," "History of the Indian Mutiny," and other works.

Sir John is (1875), *par excellence*, the literary Knight Commander of the Star of India.‡

The contributor, like the editor, was decidedly opposed to

* Two elaborate reviews on the "Life of Malcolm" afterwards appeared in the *Calcutta*.

† "Contemporary Biography," by Frederick Martin. London: Macmillan & Co. 1870.—Sir John served from 1833 to 1845, *not* from 1835, as stated in this work.

‡ Mr. Marshman, C.S.I., was a most worthy Companion.

annexation. In his article on the "Recent History of the Punjab," Lawrence writes:—

"We are among those who believe that the ocean, the Indus and the Himalayas, will some day be our boundaries; but we have no desire to see that day hastened by events over which we have no control—much less to see interference forced upon the Punjab. We have now a good position on the frontier. Let it be still further strengthened with troops and material; let our own territories be rendered safe from insult, and the means be at hand of readily redressing any injury that may be offered; and we shall not soon find ourselves tempted to aggression."

The following remarks are admirable; and in these unsettled times, both in India and England, we may take a lesson from them:—

"NATIONAL RESTLESSNESS.

"To be strong but placid in our strength, is the condition which we should endeavour to preserve. Restlessness often indicates, or seems to indicate, weakness: and nothing is more contagious than excitement. To be prepared is one thing; to be always making preparations is another. The former neither rouses the fears nor stimulates the presumption of our neighbours; the latter often operates in both directions, for whilst it betrays uneasiness, it suggests an apprehension that such uneasiness is dangerous."

Germany, at the present time, conscious of her strength, is betraying wonderfully little "restlessness" after conquest.

Our last extracts are from "The Sikh Invasion of British India," which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for September, 1846, by the admirable Sir Herbert Edwardes. Before the terrible victory of Ferozshah—The Indian Waterloo—took place, a bloody battle was fought on the 18th of December, 1845, at Múdki. The weary, foot-sore troops had dragged themselves on to this position, which they reached at noon—"and what a welcome sight met their view! Beneath the walls of a fort spread a wide clear tank of water; and the reader who has not the memory of that long march of twenty-one miles, with heavy sand under foot, and the air disturbed by the dust of 15,000 men, cannot paint the eagerness with which men and horses rushed to the bank, and tried to slake a thirst which seemed unquenchable."

"Young ladies! languishing on your damask couches, you never sipped eau sucrée or lemonade out of a crystal goblet that was to be compared to a greasy chako full of Muddy Múdki water. Between two and three o'clock . . . . Major Broadfoot again galloped into camp with the news—this time true enough—that the enemy was advancing in force in front."

Having finished their breakfasts, the whole army, after a march of unusual severity, "turned out, as if fully recruited, to the battle." We remember the following passage being much admired in India at the time of its appearance. It is very graphic, and would have done credit to the pen of Sir William Napier, and our best military writers:—

"A PICTURE AT MUDKI.

"Once more the Governor-General, with a courteous bow, that would have done honour to St. James's, waved his dashing staff over to the brave chief of that brave army, and then fell back upon the infantry. The artillery was in the centre of the front line, and the cavalry on either flank, the main body of the infantry in contiguous columns behind, and a reserve in rear of all. A mile and a half at least from their own camp did the British advance in this order before they came under the fire of the Sikh guns; but then the 'long bowls' came bounding in among them with deadly aim, and that peculiar *whirr* which makes the young soldier '*bob*' his head.* Now tumbrils begin blowing up, and artillery men dropping from their saddles; the mutual roar of cannon reverberates over the plain, and smoke obscures the vision. Closer and closer approach the hostile armies; and a staff officer, almost simultaneously from right and left, gallops up to Sir Hugh† with a report that the Sikh cavalry in clouds are turning both his flanks. Right and left he launches his own cavalry upon them; right and left their brilliant charge makes the enemy's horse give way. The British infantry deploy and advance rapidly in line."

Without any disparagement to our brave neighbours, it may be said that the Sikhs, during their invasion of British India—one of the most critical periods in Indian history—fought with more system and united determination than the French did in the Franco-German war.

Dr. Duff, the great Indian Missionary and eloquent writer and speaker already mentioned, contributed to the earlier numbers of the *Calcutta* some splendid articles on the Khonds of Goomsur; and the present writer, under the doctor's encouraging patronage, had the honour, among a few reviews and notices furnished to our Quarterly, to give the public

* The present writer recollects General Godwin saying to the young gunners at the capture of Rangoon—"Don't 'bob' your heads, men: you'll never hear the ball that hits you!"

† General Sir Frederick Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., afterwards Commander-in-Chief Madras Army, and Commander-in-Chief in India, was Lord Gough's Military Secretary, and was present at the battles of Mudki and Ferozshah: in the latter engagement he was severely wounded. Again, he served in the Punjab Campaign (1849) with distinction. He served also in the Crimea; and it has been well and truly remarked, that "these services represent the hardest fighting that ever took place in India, and the hottest of the greatest European war in which Great Britain has been engaged during the present half century."

some account of the "Tributary Mehals of Orissa, and Recent Operations against Ungool," in which he was engaged.

In the *Calcutta Review* also appeared the first regular account of British connection with the famous temple of Jagannáth in Orissa, written from official documents. Why will we still persist in calling it Juggernaut? In *Jagan*, "the world," and *nath*, "lord" (in Sanskrit), how do we find such a horrible word? Orissa, from the famine which some years back nearly ruined this remarkable province, drew forth the sympathy of both India and England; and the instructive work published by Mr. Hunter will do much to keep up an interest in its welfare.

We cannot take farewell of the *Calcutta Review* without thinking of Mr. Marshman's notes on the rivers of Bengal, and how he made the banks of the Hooghly interesting to us all, from vivid descriptions and memories of the past. And now we shall merely say to the favourite periodical, which has instructed and amused us so often in India, Go on and prosper!

Lang's *Meerut Review and Magazine* was announced for publication in August, 1846. Editing the *Mofussilite* at Meerut killed it at its birth. Mr. Lang had not really time to pay attention to the *Review*. "Of the success of such a periodical in the North-Western Provinces," he wrote in the above year, "we have no sort of doubt. We have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that a profit, of *at least* 6,000 rupees (£600) *per annum*, might be derived."

At the end of the year 1848, there were seventeen lithographic presses established in the North-West Provinces, from which newspapers and other periodicals in the native languages were issued, independent of such as were conducted by the Christian missionaries. Of these journals three were in the Persian language, the Palace newspaper of afterwards treacherous Delhi being one; three were in the Nagree character, and the rest were published in Oordoo. The Mussulmans were the chief patrons of periodical literature in the North-West. As the Mahomedan has always been famous for giving a flowing title to his Emperor, or Empress, or their children—"Throne's Ornament," "Light of the World," "Light of the Seraglio," and such like, so we find one of the North-West periodicals enjoying the title of "The Chief of Newspapers: valuable to good people, but a scourge to the wicked." Proceeding to Calcutta, we find the *Hindu Intelligencer*, at that time edited by a Hindu, though written in

English, sneering at the "Juggut Bondhu Patrika," a journal conducted for and by the junior students of the Hindu College, "who render into Bengali, with *raw attempts*, the essays and lessons they read in their class studies;" so we may yet hope for a native Lord Kames, or a Hindu Gifford or Jeffrey. The *Friend of India* gave a curious piece of information about this time—that the main object of the native journals, published in the native language, "by natives who have not embraced Christianity," is to subvert the popular system of idolatry! In 1848-49, the Bengali publications of Calutta were sixteen, at a monthly subscription varying from one rupee (2s.), to two annas (3d.). We must reserve for a concluding brief paper some matter we have yet in store on periodical literature in Bombay, Madras and Ceylon, particularly Anglo-Indian, which, through presenting our various thoughts and actions to the native mind, in the most truthful and attractive fashion, will surely, among Her Majesty's Hindu and Mahomedan subjects, produce what is so much desired—a healthy state of public opinion.

IV.

To book-hunters especially, a very interesting character is to be found in British India in the shape of the book-wallah or book-hawker—a sort of literary pedlar who wanders about from town to town and from station to station with much patience, and an apparent love of books and periodicals which such glorious old book-worms as our Roscoe and Charles Lamb would have greatly admired. Without this dispenser of heavy and light literature in our splendid Eastern dominion, we may doubt if India would be as secure as it is. Through the travels of the book-hawker, many antidotes to poisonous writings are administered; educated natives purchase English philosophical treatises, mathematical works, magazines—all with equal composure; the poorer Hindu or Mahomedan, with Lord William Bentinck's famous remark ringing in his ear—"Education is the first want, education the second, education the third want of India!"—dives into the box or bundle (to the astonishment of the patient coolie or native porter who carries it) for a grammar or spelling-book; while the *burra sahib*, his wife and

daughter, seated in splendid mansion at tiffin (lunch), or it may be enjoying a siesta, with the thermometer 100° in the shade, startle at the sonorous voice exclaiming from the door, or beside the refreshing *kus-kus* tatties,*—"Book-hawker, sir!"

We shall now give two brief anecdotes of this important *periodical* visitor in India. The first may be styled

THE TWO SHAKSPEARES.

It was towards the close of a sultry day—we shall not say how long ago—that we were sitting beneath the porch of our humble dwelling ensconced in a comfortable armchair, and engaged in musing on the various vicissitudes of an Indian career. We were startled from our harmless reverie by the drawling tones of a voice, which said, close to the chair, "Master, want any book?—very good book for master." Turning round suddenly, we beheld, standing at our side, a middle-aged Borah, with dark turban and not unpleasant countenance. He held a book in each hand, and immediately behind him was a coolie, who had just thrown down his box or basket, covered with a blanket, on the ground.

"Master, want Shakspeare?" resumed the book-wallah, "Shakspeare very good book."

"Aye," said we musingly, "Shakspeare was a great man. No writer, ancient or modern, ever came near him in the delineation of human character or the human passions. He is the poet of all ages, the poet of nature, fancy's child; 'exhausted worlds, and then imagined new!'—who can write like Shakspeare? In every sense, 'his head was the palace of the passions.'" But, anxious to see what edition of our favourite author was proffered on this occasion, we snatched the book enthusiastically from the hawker's hand, and found it to be—*horribile dictu!*—'Shakespear's Hindustani Dictionary'!

The next is from "Colonel Davidson's Travels"—the gallant officer weighing nineteen stone, and having "a strong predilection for the good things of life in general, and of tomata sauce in particular"—where, according to his Calcutta reviewer, the colonel encounters a wag; and here we have a sketch of

* These most necessary mats or screens outside the door in India, being kept wet, with the hot wind blowing on them, causes the *kus-kus*, of which they are composed, to emit a most grateful perfume.

THE CORPULENT COLONEL.

"Riding past this (Baboo's) ghât one morning, I heard a loud call in my ear, and turning round, discovered that a Bengalee book-hawker wished to enjoy my conversation. He ran up quite breathless, and opening his wallet, took out a little octavo half-bound in Russia volume, which he placed in my hand with an air of triumphant satisfaction. 'Lo, Sahib! lo! Take it, sir, take it.' I took and opened the book, and the first glance displayed an old fat lady in a chair. Its title was "Wade on Corpulency.' I had never before seen, although I had heard of, the work. I saw another similar etching, and at last laughed heartily. 'What do you want for this?—how much?' 'You know best, sir.' 'No, I don't; what is its value?' 'You ought to be the best judge of that, sir,' said the wag, laughing in my face. I immediately looked round to ascertain whether he had not been directed by some one to bring it to me as a joke, but I could not see any one." The Calcutta reviewer well thinks the fellow ought to have received "a rupee on the spot."*

Whether or not the book-wallah (lit. book-keeper) ever rises to the dignity of a native editor of a newspaper or magazine, or occasionally gives a lecture for the benefit of some of his benighted countryman, we cannot say; but there can be no doubt that, by hawking about good books, he assists ambitious editors and all young Mahomedans and Hindus who are inspired with the vanity and glory of literature.

We have already alluded to the native journals of the North-West; but to give a correct idea of the extent to which the periodical press exercises an influence over the natives in those parts would require the pen of the *Friend of India*, who in November, 1848, published an excellent paper on the subject.† The editor of the "Zoobdut-ool-Ukhbar" (written in Persian), we read, does not often hazard his own opinions, or lay himself open to attack, but is very cautious, and clothes in flowery language any expression of dissatisfaction which he may publish. No scurrilous matter found place in this respectable Agra journal, the information in which used to be generally correct, "and for the most part gathered from the English and other papers." The following infor-

* *Calcutta Review*, No. I. p. 256.

† Sir George Birdwood, a few years ago, read an interesting paper on the Native newspaper press of India before the Society of Arts.

mation regarding this "chief of newspapers"* is of great importance, especially when we consider the nature of our hold on India. Its advocacy of the views of educated natives on religious and other subjects, in opposition to the Europeanised opinions which are now becoming so extensively disseminated by means of various periodicals, is seldom of a direct and open character; "but the editor being a staunch, though cautious Mussulman, is not backward to avail himself of opportunities for insinuating opinions agreeable to the Mussulman population." What an argument we have here in favour of everything being done that can be done to establish a sound and healthy system of education in India! The longer we live the more we are convinced that the love of knowledge is strongly implanted in every nature.

In Bombay they have Parsee editors and vernacular journals, one of which used to be the "Apakhytar" (*Independent*). In 1859 the dawn of intelligence in Bombay became decidedly manifest among the native community. In the *Times* of 10th September, it was announced that Dr. Bhawoo Dajee intended to give a lecture in the Town Hall on the travels of Fa-hian and Hiouen Thsang, two Chinese Buddhist ecclesiastics, who visited India in the fourth and seventh centuries of the Christian era respectively. Light was to be thrown on a dark period of history by Dr. Dajee. The lecture, we believe, was a success. The first traveller, Chy Fa Hian, is alluded to at some length by the late Colonel Sykes, in his valuable work (or, rather, elaborate paper), published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1841, "Notes on Ancient India."

In the month of July, 1872, we learned some particulars regarding the "native press of Bombay," which, according to a correspondent of the *Gujerat Friend*, far from showing any disloyalty to the Government, is wonderfully tame, and is simply a second edition of the daily journals. "In the Anglo-vernacular journals there is no great talent displayed, though Bombay is richer than any other city in India in the excellence of its daily papers, under the editorship and proprietorship of Englishmen. Of course the natives are inferior to Europeans in journalistic talent, for it is a very difficult task to become an able

* Alluded to at the end of our last paper; the high-flowing title in Persian being "Zoobdut-ool-Ukhbar-Tuhfut-ool Ukhyar-o-mikrut-ool-Ashrar." This used to be the only indigenous paper in the N.W.P. not connected with the Government colleges and schools.

journalist—more difficult, perhaps, than to pass the Civil Service Examination. The Calcutta Anglo-vernacular press is superior to that of Bombay, in consequence of the wider spread of education in Bengal." The native editor is at present in his infancy: but the time is not far distant when he will act as a mental lever on the benighted millions of India, and, Archimedes-like, or rather excelling him, having found a rest, move the Eastern world. Even the next twenty or thirty years may see some self-made, energetic Gordon Bennett, proprietor and editor of a Hindu or Mahomedan *Herald*, sending his Stanley, or fearless "special correspondent," far beyond the ranges of the "cloud-capt" Himalayas, to bring back to civilized parts some lost daring British traveller, who, with the great Livingstone in his mind's eye, has gone forth to explore distant lands, peopled by the Mongolian or other varieties of mankind of which we know little or nothing, and where may be wealth untold—gold, coal, precious stones, beyond the possibility of human calculation. Should such a consummation ever be effected, and the discovery tend to enrich our Eastern dominions, and consequently Great Britain, how England would rise from her wretched apathy towards India; what debates concerning her welfare would take place in Parliament; and how soon would Britain's greatest glory—the cradle of science, which possessed a grandeur of its own ages before Athens and Rome promoted the arts of civilized life and literature, and now containing one-sixth of the human race—receive due attention and consideration! But let us begin at once, and not delay the study of India till some internal convulsion brings us near the dreadful word—LOST!

At present there are said to be fifty-nine native newspapers published in the Bengal Presidency, which considerable number of native organs is considered a good sign—"so many opinion-ventilators running through it." In addition to these aids to knowledge, a new Indian magazine was about to be started in Calcutta, under the promising title of the *Bengal Magazine*. It professes to be a monthly review of Indian politics, society, and literature. The editor, Rev. Lal Behari Dey, has, it is said, "secured some of the best native writers as contributors to the new magazine." There is decidedly a love of periodical literature in India, and the curious traveller will not be long in the country without ascertaining the fact. While serving in Orissa, the present writer looked over a small Oorya periodical, entitled "Gyánáruna; or, Dawn of Intelligence," published under the superintend-

ence of the missionaries at Cuttack; and while marching with artillery through far-famed ancient Madura, in Southern India, he purchased from an intelligent Hindu a well got-up paper entitled the *Morning Star*. It was published in English and Tamil by the American mission at Jaffnah (Ceylon), and consisted of articles by the missionaries, with short sketches and correspondence by the native converts. The writings of the latter were generally good. The natives of India evidently think like ourselves in the matter: "Without a periodical literature we should be in this dilemma—either to be silent, and let what small insight we may have attained die with us; or else, resolutely undertake tasks for which we are not fitted."

We commenced this sketch by alluding to lectures at Seetabuldee (Nagpore); and now we read that in the present year (1872) there are to be vernacular newspapers for the Central Provinces—the Chief Commissioner having determined "to supply the want of a vernacular newspaper in the districts under his rule." The *Central Provinces News* and the *Gazette* are henceforth to enlighten the natives in this historic quarter of India; the former journal being printed in "Hindi, Urdu, and Marathi."*

Periodical literature will ever have one good effect among the intelligent natives of India, that of making them travel. Following Bacon's advice,† several well-educated Madrassis have started for England, some for pleasure, and others to study for the bar; and our countrymen at home may not fully be aware that a good native pleader is a gentleman not to be despised. As a sort of finish to these glimpses of the new dawn of Hindu and Mahomedan intellect, chiefly as regards native periodical literature, we shall give an extract or two from the native opinions or ideas regarding the murder of the late Viceroy (8th of February, 1872), when, as the *Calcutta Englishman* well said, "it must have been a severe trial to those who had known him so intimately, and been so much in his company, to see the manly form laid low, and to know too bitterly that they had no power to raise a timely hand to avert 'the deep damnation of his taking off.'"

LORD MAYO.

The Bombay "Jam-i-Jamshed" wrote:—"Everywhere we see signs of sorrowfulness. The public have left off their

* The head master of the Nagpore School was to be editor.

† "Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience."

business, and they seem to ask what the motive was of the scoundrel in committing such a horrible act. . . . . He is not fit for a single moment to live in this world." And *Native Public Opinion* says:—"That so noble a life should be ruthlessly cut short by the assassin's knife is as appalling a tragedy as any that the records of human crime present." And then the journalist goes on to express "the deep and cordial sympathy which all loyal subjects of the Queen, be they European or Native, feel for Lady Mayo, under this cruel bereavement." Such ideas at least show a healthy state of native periodical literature, and may well take a place beside a fine passage from *Indian Public Opinion* (February 13), by one of our own countrymen:—"Not climate, not overwork this time. That clear, firm intellect was never more securely seated on its lofty throne; that herculean figure never firmer in the saddle, more commanding at Durbar, more conspicuous in brilliant assemblies, more lordly and magnificent everywhere."*

It must be kept in view that the early development of native intellect, according to our ideas of what civilisation should be, or the process at work of a transition state of the Hindu mind, only dates from the beginning of the present century; so, let us look at the picture as we will, some good has been done during the last seventy years. And this remark leads us to think over Carey, Marshman, and Ward, the missionaries of Serampore, a trio almost matchless in zeal and the glorious attempts to conquer ignorance and superstition; and in sternness of purpose not unworthy to take a place beside the fine old Roman triumvirates. Purpose was the secret of success with the above three great men; and their sucess shows how little birth is to be considered in the great battle of life. William Carey was a bad cobbler; but he possessed the determined spirit of Whitfield in England, and Xavier in Asia, so much so that we find the

* The late Earl of Mayo (Richard Southwell Bourke), well known in England as Lord Naas, before his succeeding the fifth Earl, was born 1822. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, the city of his birth, and became M.A. 1844; M.P. for County Kildare, 1847–52; Chief Secretary for Ireland, March to December, 1852; and again in February, 1858, to June, 1859; M.P. for Coleraine, 1852–53; M.P. for Cockermouth, 1857–68; for the third time Chief Secretary for Ireland, with a seat in the Cabinet, July, 1866, to September, 1868; appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in succession to Sir John (Lord) Lawrence, September, 1868.—His Lordship's brother, the Honourable Robert Bourke, has just been appointed Governor of Madras in succession to Mr. Grant Duff, the eminent Governor, who retires.—August, 1886.

divine and philosopher. Chalmers, talking of him, in a flood of philanthropic eloquence, as the man "from whose hand the generations of the East are now receiving the elements of their moral renovation." Marshman was the son of a weaver and Baptist minister. William Ward was a carpenter. At the very commencement of the present century, after overcoming the most serious obstacles, they were all three settled at Serampore. They set up a Press. Dr. Carey translated the Scriptures, and Ward printed the translations, the printer also preaching in Bengali when time permitted. Dr. and Mrs. Marshman opened schools; and their popularity was soon proved by the receipt of sometimes as much as 4,000 rupees in one month for tuition. Everybody (Europeans, East Indians, and natives) sent a son or two to Serampore. We have already said the missionaries published the first native newspaper; they also published the first periodical work in India. They established the first native schools, organised the first college for native catechists, printed the first books in the Bengali language, and founded a vernacular library.* In fact, they were the great pioneers of knowledge *versus* ignorance in India, during the early part of the nineteenth century. Ignorance is the greatest enemy we have here to contend with. In a fair stand-up fight we can see our foe, lay our guns, and dispose our troops; but in India, where treachery is generally combined with ignorance, we never know when the enemy is at hand. Doubtless, it is nearly the same in all countries. But ignorance of our power and resources is a more serious matter in India than elsewhere, perhaps only exceeded by British ignorance of the vast country, its history, geography, wants, and our great responsibility towards it. Probably, in history, we are a little better up than formerly. There is no longer doubt as to Holkar *not* being a Mussulman; but we are afraid there is still a chance of at any time, in a debate which might require an allusion to the early conquest of our Indian empire, hearing a desire expressed (as was really the case in the last century) to learn whether or not Surajah Dowlah (Sir Roger Dowler ?) were a baronet!

We have not space to say much regarding the religious periodicals of India. The *Madras Native Herald* used to be very well written, and was great on the question of "Educational training" for the general population of the country.

* See article in the *Calcutta Review* (1859), brought about by the appearance of a "Life of the Three Missionaries," by John Marshman, Esq., C.S.I., son of the great Indian missionary.

It is deemed self-evident that the efficiency and success of a system of general *education* for the Hindus will mainly depend on the character of the *inspectors*, *teachers*, and *books*, to be employed in carrying it on. . . . "We do not demand that inspectors (European) should be ministers of religion; but we deem it indispensable that they should be *truly religious men*."* In another number of the *Herald* (for 1848) we have a glance at passing events, and a comparison between a fearful tragedy enacted in Paris and what was going on in the "great Heathen city of Madras." Alluding to the *Cheddul*, or Swinging Feast (at Jagannáth it is styled the Dole Jattra), the writer says: "This brutal exhibition is not only destructive of all true religious feeling, but a nuisance and an offence to common decency. To offer, in the name of devotion, half-stupefied wretches, hooked up by the backs and suspended to a cross-beam whirling on a pole sixty feet from the ground, is an insult to the enlightened understanding of mankind, and proves that two of the features of Hindu superstition are *childishness* and *cruelty*."—The Calcutta *Christian Intelligencer* and *Christian Advocate* may be mentioned among the influential Anglo-Indian religious periodicals. We have two numbers of the former magazine (1858-59) before us; one containing the "Fall of the East India Company," our former munificent masters, who gained and ruled a mighty empire—an empire comprising, as Mr. Bright tells us, "twenty different nations and twenty different languages;" while both numbers have most interesting "Recollections of Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta." The periodical writer here gives us a few good anecdotes of the admirable Bishop. His outset as a preacher at home was by no means favourable. "When Richard Cecil, whose curate he afterwards became, first invited him to preach in his church, the young preacher no doubt made the best display he could when in the pulpit of one who was himself so eminent as a preacher. On rejoining Cecil in the vestry-room, young Daniel Wilson, either inquiring how his sermon had been appreciated, or else appearing desirous to know, Cecil is related to have said, 'Well, of all

* Regarding the vital question of Christianity in India, in a review of Mr. Kaye's work (1860) it is remarked that the Rev. Mr. Long had urged strongly the necessity for native missionaries. The "Calcutta" reviewer says:—"We believe that if Christianity is ever to take a hold on the people of India it will be by native agency." In the same number we learn that the end of the seventeenth century saw the first Protestant Church erected in Madras.

the bad preachers I have ever heard, for both matter and manner, you are one of the worst.'" Now, for the commencement of the Bishop's career as a preacher in India:—"After, say the story-tellers, the first novelty of the new Bishop's style, manner, doctrine, &c., began to wear off, the somniferous influence of a tropical climate began to reassert itself; and the Bishop often looked round from the pulpit on a drowsy and nodding congregation. 'This' he exclaimed, 'will not do; I must at least have the people awake to hear the Gospel I bring them.' And hence, it is said, he on design adopted the homely, abrupt, eccentric manner of address, the odd anecdotes, strange illustrations, and personal recollections which at times marked his preaching."

One of the Bishop's peculiarities was "a rather overweening estimate of *big people*, persons of rank and position." He would excuse the offence given to minor lights in the way of indifference, by saying, with the greatest simplicity, "But, my dear friend, he is a *Member of Council!*" The Governor-General was regarded by him as a species of divinity, and others with rank as *Dii minores*. Thinking so much of a Viceroy, what the good Bishop would have thought of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, had he been spared to have an interview with His Grace (of Argyll) in the palatial India Office, it is impossible to say.

The Bishop eschewed all needless show and style; the furniture of his palace was of the humblest kind, and his table was marked by extreme plainness; but, let it be remembered, he gave two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) to the new Cathedral in Calcutta, where he now sleeps, having nobly done his work. To the above anecdotes, furnished us by periodical literature, another may be added, the truth of which may be vouched for, as the remark was made to some men of the present writer's corps during the Bishop's inspection of the Artillery Company at Moulmein, in British Burma. The men were much struck with the "bold and plain-speaking truthfulness" of their exalted "friend," and particularly when he said, "Now, I tell you what it is, men, every dram of arrack * you drink more than your allowance, you drink down damnation along with it!"

We shall now proceed to another station in Burma, and very briefly introduce a little periodical to our readers, the

* The spirit distilled from rice, or the various kinds of palm, of which the allowance used to be two drams a day; afterwards one dram, if beer was taken.

Toungoo News (*pro Deo et Ecclesia*). It was edited by the learned American missionary, Dr. Mason, author of "Fauna, Flora and Minerals of Burma," founder of the Karen Institute, and who, with his excellent wife, laboured for many years among the Karens (of Pegu), a remarkable people, who preserve in their books * the fossilised skeletons of our faith. Being simply Deists, without any idolatry or multitude of false gods, it is easier to engraft Christianity on such a foundation than on the Hindu; and religious periodical literature, in their own and the English language, is a most useful instrument among them. The first number of the second volume (1865) commences with an account of the Pali alphabet.

When Europeans first visited India, they noticed some remarkable stone pillars, scattered in different parts of the country, with inscriptions cut on them. These were sometimes found in three various characters. In the process of time, the languages of two were discovered, "but the most ancient characters defied every attempt to decipher them."

Five centuries ago the learned Brahmans of a Mahomedan sovereign could not decipher the inscription on the pillar at Delhi. A native historian wrote: "Round it have been engraved literal characters, which the most intelligent of all religions have been unable to explain."† Early ignorant European travellers thought the writing to be Greek, from the association in their minds of Bactrian coins and Alexander the Great, from which they were ready to pronounce any Indian inscription to be in the Greek character. "From the days of Sir William Jones," writes Dr. Mason, "the eyes of all the antiquarians in India have been directed to these inscriptions, but they were directed in vain." . . . . The first attempt to render any part of them was made by a Bombay scholar, who, in 1834, translated the first thirteen letters:—"In the two ways (of wisdom and works?) with all speed do I approach the resplendant receptacle of the ever-moving radiance." In 1837, James Prinsep walked up to the inscriptions and read them off to a wondering world, with as much apparent ease as Daniel did MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN, to the bewildered Babylonian monarch: "Thus said King Devanampiya Piyadasi!'" Remarking on the Pali alphabet, Prinsep says: "There is a primitive

* Some account of their traditions will be found in "A Narrative of the Second Burmese War."

† *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, July, 1837, Supplement; Supplement, 1864; October, 1834; and March, 1838.

simplicity in the form of every letter, which stamps it at once as the original type whereon the more complicated structure of the Sanskrit has been founded." And he adds what has never been controverted: "I consider it the primeval alphabet of the Indian languages." As "all the ancient alphabets west of the Indus have been traced to the Phœnicians, and all east of the Indus have been derived from the Pali," it may be interesting to give a note or two on the language of Burma, where, if the learned Chief Commissioner, Sir Arthur Phayre, had met Prinsep, there might have been some addition to the flood of light which Sir Arthur could furnish us with on Buddhism and Chin-India. There never was a better time for English students to learn something about such a land. The "intercourse of West and East" is rapidly bearing fruits. In truth, to use the words of a popular London journal, "The lands of Buddha and Brahma have entered what we call the paths of progress." We have now in England for the first time Ambassadors from Burma, Western China (the Panthays), and Japan, anxious to see our wonders and learn about our commerce and science; and fifty years hence, if Japan has gone far on the road towards becoming "an Oriental England," if Burma and Western China have not done the same, Great Britian will have much to answer for. More periodicals should at once be started to furnish information regarding these important parts of the world, with which we are so closely connected. The Burmese Embassy has already drawn much attention to the land of the Golden Foot of Ava, and the following brief notes on their language may be added to what has already been said about the Pali:—The common language of Burma is called the Burman, and is written from left to right in characters of a circular form. "The language in which all their religious books are composed is called the Pali, and is written in the Sanskrit character. The Burmese use the Palmira leaf, and for common purposes the iron style; their religious and other books of value are written with lacquer, or sometimes with gold and silver, and the leaves are splendidly gilt and ornamented."*—After the capture of Rangoon we found some manuscript leaves and other books in less elegant taste than the above; and no doubt many a Pali periodical escaped our notice.

We now proceed to make up for this digression from our sketch, which may be excused on account of the attempt to

* The Rev. A. R. Symonds, M.A.

make it a vehicle of instruction, and for directing attention to Indian affairs.

Among the scientific periodicals of India we used to have the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, a *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, and the Calcutta and Bombay *Journals of the Asiatic Society*. The Asiatic Society of Bengal (which used to be the great feeder of the "Royal" in London) was founded by Sir William Jones; and their meetings are held in one of Calcutta's noble mansions. Bengal has every reason to be proud of her Asiatic Society; and its home has a peculiar interest. In the grand room you will behold busts of Sir W. Jones, Colebrooke, Horace Wilson, and James Prinsep, the greatest lights of our Oriental literature.* We had also an *Indian Journal of Art, Science and Manufacture*, which was published in Madras. It contained some able articles on Geology and Native Manufactures. The labours of Dr. Hunter in pottery, and for the improvement of native taste, have also been set forth in periodicals.—Nothing has yet been said about Medical periodical literature in India, a most potent instrument for the advancement of this supremely necessary science. A medical journal, to which the graduates of the medical school at Hyderabad† (Dekhan) contributed, used to be published in Hindustani. An English *Medical Journal* was once attempted in the North of India, but it met with little encouragement. We know not the name of the Anglo-Indian Wakley who gave us a *Lancet*, but certainly the Indian *Lancet* was published at Lahore in August, 1859; and it appeared thrice a month. We once had hopes of Madras having a *Law Times*, but we are not aware if they have been realised; however, cases of importance which came before the Indian Courts of Judicature used to be regularly published. Madras, which has now emerged from its darkness into a marvellous and, we trust, lasting light, must do something more than hitherto for Indian periodical literature. Calcutta has had, and still has, its *Quarterly*, the early numbers of which even went through three or four editions. Bombay had her *Quarterly* twenty years ago: why it ceased we know not; we presume through want of patronage, but still the effort deserved credit.

But Madras is nowhere in the race; and yet her journals have always been edited by men of considerable talent.

* *See* also Sketch of the Prinseps.

† Under Dr. Smith.

From the very fact of a *Calcutta Review*, *Bombay Quarterly*,* and *Sporting Review* having existed in India at the same time, it is evident that with able and, above all, energetic editors, and the amount of talent we know to exist in the civil and military services, from which might be got a powerful staff of contributors—who would be nothing if not *punctual* as well as critical—periodicals to suit all tastes might be set a-going and prosper.

Some thirteen years ago, while musing over the uncertainty of the fate of Indian periodicals, we read in the *Bombay Times* an account of a "Sunderbund tiger-hunt, by young Nimrod," in which the death of the tigress, measuring 9ft. 4in., was told with much feeling; and in the next paragraph the death of the *Indian Sporting Review* was announced, and its subscribers were asked to rally round its heir and successor, the *Indian Field* (newspaper). The *Calcutta Sporting Review*, under "Able East," was much admired in India and elsewhere by the Nimrods of the day. Older Indians than the present writer also tell us of a Bombay *Sporting Magazine*, in which some "Letters from John Dockeray, a Yorkshire jockey, to his brother in Tadcaster," were of a first-rate character—full of vigorous writing and dry humour. It will thus be seen that in order to counteract the apathy and rouse into activity "the slumbering energies" of the educated Indian community, every stimulant that could excite was resorted to in the way of periodical literature. That the energy of "the leaders of public taste," under so much indifference and so little sympathy, should have died away was natural enough; but we trust that the energy will burst forth again stronger than ever. We should have liked in this sketch to have said more about Madras; but it may be mentioned that, in 1840, we had a *Madras Miscellany*. The now defunct *Metropolitan*, of London, flattered the bantling by facetiously declaring that the sun of Madras "rarified and sublimated the intellect." But, as the Turkish poet sings, "Nature said it was too sweet to last!" "Pickwick in India"—written by a most intelligent Madras officer, now holding a high scientific appointment—was generally acknowledged to be clever; but it wanted the idea of originality. We once read in the *Miscellany* a whole chapter upon a tiffin! What would Crabbe, "Nature's sternest painter," have said to this? Even Sydney Smith, with all his love of wit and fun, would

* Mr. Anderson (afterwards Sir Henry, and Secretary in the India Office) wrote in this "Quarterly." (*See* Notes at end of this Sketch.)

have declared that a tiffin—a good one—is a very good thing, especially with a glass of cold beer; but however essential it is to the stamina of the body, it cannot be said, at the outset, to be favourable to that of a magazine.

As near the Madras presidency, and of old joined to the Peninsula, let us now proceed to the utmost Indian isle, Taprobane, and glance at the periodical literature of Ceylon. It commenced with a "Religious and Theological Magazine," nearly forty years ago, having been published at Colombo in 1833. The "Colombo Academy Miscellany," and the "Friend," were both to be found in Colombo in 1837. The "Protestant Vindicator," the "Colombo Magazine," the "Ceylon Magazine," and the "Ceylon Miscellany" were all to be found between the years 1839 and 1842. The "Investigator" flourished in Kandy in 1841; and between 1840 and 1844 were to be seen two papers, chiefly for the natives—the *Lanka Nidhana*, published at Colombo, and the *Morning Star* (as before stated) published at Jaffna. The first of these periodicals appeared at a time when the reading community consisted of "civilians and military, fewer far than at present, and of a very small number of clergy." The Rev. B. Bailey was its able conductor, and before the days of Overlands and general coffee-planting, he furnished the society of Colombo with readable and instructive essays, as well as Bible biographies. The average life of Ceylon periodicals used to be two years; but the "Friend," which owed its origin to the ubiquitous Wesleyan missionaries, existed ten. This excellent periodical enabled the Singhalese, who acquired a tolerable knowledge of English at the schools, to become acquainted with our European books and magazines, liberal extracts from which were freely given. The "Lanka Nidhana," or "Lamp of Ceylon," was a Singhalese publication of a similar character to the "Friend." The "Colombo Magazine" was edited by a gentleman in the Ordnance Department, who, escaping from the heavier occupation of indents and piling of shot and shell, contributed tales, essays, poetry, and anecdotes to its pages. This journal was the first to rouse the desire for a local periodical literature, which, let us trust, may one day be permanently established in Ceylon. The "Ceylon Magazine" had Dr. Macvicar and Mr. Bailey among its contributors; but in 1848 the *Morning Star*, of Jaffna, alone glimmered as the sole survivor of the periodicals above-mentioned. Writing on this Ceylon periodical decline, the *Calcutta Review* informs us that "the romance of life bowed

down its head before the strong reality of the prices current. Quotations from the classics were replaced by quotations from the coffee market;" and even at present we believe the local newspapers do the literary periodical as well as the chief commercial business. But in many other places besides Ceylon the "quick pulse of gain" is beginning to beat too high for men to think of anything but making money.

We have sometimes wondered why, in such a military country as India, where the reality of soldier-life is ever apparent, no firmly established army journal or magazine exists. This is a want that should at once be supplied, and if discreetly edited, would doubtless effect much good. During the second Burmese war an "East India Army Magazine and Military Review" from Calcutta, reached our tight little force at Toungoo. It was most ably conducted, and furnished a supplementary paper to a narrative of the campaign in Burma, 1853.*

The forests of India—especially before the coal of the country is developed—being of such vast importance, we must not omit to announce that, not long since, the Punjab Forest Department were about to start a periodical. It was, doubtless, the result of a conference, wisely recognised by Government, at which "essays were read, experiences related, difficulties solved, and much valuable information given and received." An Indian paper prudently suggested that "matter which would be of interest to the *shikaree* (sportsman), as well as the tourist, might be added to the subjects of the proposed periodical, which would render it popular, not only departmentally, but also with the public, and tend to make its financial success more certain."

In the "Annals of Indian Administration," published at Serampore, India has an excellent magazine, to show at a glance what the Government is doing for the good of India and Burma; and in a number before us (September, 1866) we find forest conservancy in Oudh and British Burma concisely related; the Government of India declaring that forest administration in our portion of Burma was in a "very satisfactory state." Lighthouses, education, police, geological survey, with a number of other subjects, are also to be found commented on in this useful State periodical. It is difficult to get the English people to understand that in spite of shortcomings which, where such a large portion of humanity is concerned, must every now and then occur,

* "The Second Burmese War"—Pegu—p. 422.

the India Office at home and the Indian Government are (especially at the present time) working hard for the good of our splendid dominion. Periodical literature in the country should do its utmost to aid this good work; and we trust and believe that there is a grand future for it in India. For anything we know, the pens of Native editors may now be working towards a mighty consummation which, a few hundred years hence, may, as a sort of companion to Lord Macaulay's New Zealander, afford the interesting spectacle, to the world of a once chief of the native Indian press (as if he had copied a leaf out of the book of the great M. Thiers, who owes so much of his well-won fame to having been a journalist) governing a mighty Indian Republic, and, with flowing robes and ready pen, sending forth severe monitors* from Bombay, Madras, or the City of Palaces! But without indulging in any such dreams, there is yet much to be done in the way of encouraging the "potent instrument" everywhere in India. Our very hold on the Empire, in some measure, depends on the proper management of it.

Among the Anglo-Indian community, a well-conducted periodical literature is a pearl of great price; and, at the conclusion of this rapid sketch, we are glad to notice that a new weekly journal has been started at Simla. It is styled the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and is designed to supply a void which has long been felt in that glorious region by "the very large proportion of the intellect, ability, and talent of India congregated at Simla six months out of the twelve." Madras and Bombay must be more than ever on their guard! We trust the remark is at an end, that such and such a periodical is "defunct for want of patronage;" the saying is a stain upon the Anglo-Indian social and literary character. The late Lord Cockburn—at a dinner given many years ago, in Edinburgh, to a famous artist—said, while talking of the goodness of one of Roberts's early patrons, he remembered hearing Henry Mackenzie, the Man of Feeling, say, when talking of a certain lord who should be nameless, "'Oh, he is proud of the blaze of Burns' light, when it shone in its full brightness; but,'" added the Man of Feeling, "'I am prouder still, because I was one of the few who fanned that flame when in its infancy.'" The prophetic historian of our disasters in Afghanistan, the

* The *Moniteur Officiel* of Pondicherry—the Paris of the East—a great monitor during the Empire, may be mentioned in this sketch as an example of French periodical literature in India.

acute biographer of Malcolm and Metcalfe, and the founder of the *Calcutta Review*, may, we think, safely take to himself some credit of this kind; and so may it be with others—patrons of periodical literature, and promoters of knowledge in our Eastern dominion—at a time which may not inaptly be styled "Gyánáruna," the dawn of general intelligence in India.

NOTES.

COMIC PERIODICALS IN INDIA.

Although throughout the sketch just concluded, it has been attempted to blend an occasional touch of the comic with grave matter, while thinking of the twin genii, Grief and Joy, and of the force of the saying, "Il n'y a rien plus près du rire que des larmes," we find that no allusion has been made in the foregoing pages to the *Delhi Sketch-book*, which Indian *Punch*, in Lord Dalhousie's reign, was very good sometimes. *Momus* succeeded the *Sketch-book*; but its chief fault was its bad lithographs, spoiling an excellent design. The *Delhi* was far different, and gladdened the Anglo-Indian world with as much zeal as *Punch*, *Judy*, and *Fun* evince at the present day for the amusement of London. In the *Delhi*, "the Royals in India" formed a capital series of sketches: Mrs. Corporal Flouncey objecting to take service with "the lady of a Sepoy officer," the quiet surprise of the lady, and the grim corporal in the background, being admirably brought out, was one of the best. "The War with Burma" formed the subject of some amusing verses in one number; and where the Lion flares "right up," and sends "two wise ambassadors, the Serpent and the Fox" (the actual names of a gun-brig and frigate, R.N., employed at the commencement of the second Burmese war), is told with some humour.

Two conundrums from an old *Delhi* may be given:—"Who was the greatest drunkard in Indian history?—Asoka. Which is the most killing—Brown Bess or Miss Minié?" Also a capital sketch of Anglo-Indian military life, in which the stern visage of Colonel Blowhard, in his Bengal muster buggy, and the harum-scarum look of Sprugg, on his tattoo at full speed, are drawn with admirable effect:—"Cornet Sprugg hath just joined his regiment—hath not had sufficient time or opportunity to set himself up in chargers, or purchase a buggy. Church being over, he mounteth a diminutive tattoo. Having previously divested himself of his sword and belts, he giveth the same unto his syce [horsekeeper] to bring after him. Blowhard, the man in authority, twiggeth him. C. O. [Cantonment Order] No. 2.—The practice of officers' servants being permitted to carry their swords is unmilitary, and is to be discontinued. The place for the sword is *always by the side* of the officers."

This number of the periodical was issued from the *Delhi Gazette* Press, which also sent forth "Saunder's Monthly Magazine for all India," with some good original writing and translations, in June, 1852.

"THE BOMBAY QUARTERLY REVIEW."

[To a learned friend we are indebted for the following authentic information regarding the projection of the *Bombay Quarterly*, which, as it

brings some "old familiar faces" to memory, will be interesting to many Anglo-Indians.]

The project of publishing a *Quarterly Review* in Bombay was discussed in July, 1854, at a dinner given by H. L. Anderson, then Secretary to Government in the Political Department. There were present among others:—William Howard (afterwards Advocate-General), his brother, Edward Howard (afterwards Director of Public Instruction), William Frere (afterwards a Member of the Bombay Government), H. B. Frere (afterwards the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere), H. Conybeare (the Civil Engineer), Captain Marriott (afterwards Secretary to Government in the Military Department), the Rev. Philip Anderson, M. A. Coxon (Registrar of the Sudder Adawlut), John Connon (afterwards Senior Magistrate of Police), Herbert Giraud (afterwards Principal of the Grant Medical College), and C. J. Erskine (afterwards a Member of the Bombay Government).

The Rev. P. Anderson, the author of "The English in Western India," was chosen to be Editor; and it was determined, after considerable discussion, that articles on other than strictly Indian subjects should be admitted. The *Review* was to be published by Smith, Elder & Company, who had at that time a branch firm in Bombay.

The *Review* was a fair success, the literary ability of some of the articles being of a high standard, especially those written by Edward Howard. One of these, on Thackeray's novels, was shown to Thackeray himself, and declared by him to be the best article he had ever read on his works. Edward Howard also wrote articles on "Oxford," "Music as a Social Recreation," and "Burton's Pilgrimage to Mecca." Pelly (now Sir Lewis Pelly) wrote one on "Sind," Marriott one on "Ruskin's Works." Sir Bartle Frere one on "Rifle Musketry," the Rev. Philip Anderson one on "Erskine's Life of Baber," and several others founded on the old records of Government, which he intended, when completed, to be published as a second volume of his "English in Western India." His namesake, Henry Anderson (now Sir H. L.), wrote two; one on "Kaye's Life of Sir Charles Metcalfe," and the other on "Competitive Examinations for the Civil Service." Dr. Peet, the Principal of the Grant Medical College, wrote two; one on "Education in Western India," the other on "The Moon and her Libellers;" the late Kinloch Forbes, author of the "Ras Mala," one on Kaye's "Life of Sir J. Malcolm." These are all I can at this moment recollect.

The death of the Editor (the Rev. P. Anderson), and the occurrence of the Mutinies, brought the *Review* to an early close. Of the original projectors, six are dead—the two Howards (the one by a fall in the hunting-field, and the other by a railway accident), Connon (Connor?), Taylor (of Smith, Taylor & Co.), M. A. Coxon, and the Editor. The rest survive (1875).

SPORTING LITERATURE IN INDIA.*

THAT a thirst for adventure, and a love of excitement and danger, may be engendered in the hearts of the rising generation of Englishmen, is the earnest wish of a well-known Indian officer, who writes with great practical experience and ability on the "Wild Sports of India." Experience in Shikar—particularly in hunting and killing the large game with which India's forests abound—is a great thing, and has doubtless tended to rear more genuine "captains" in the "nursery"† than anything else; for, talk as we will, a good soldier is generally a keen sportsman, or, we should rather say, the keen sportsman has in him the materials for a good and distinguished soldier. The ever-ready tact, the nerve firm and unquailing, the talent for constant resource, a constitution like that of the "Iron King" of Sweden, our own "Iron Duke," or Napier of Sind; to be weather-proof even—as the late gifted Meredith Parker might have expressed it—while snakes are "prodigiously lively," and tigers' teeth are cracking from the sun: all these requisites are essential for great success in sporting as in military life. Doubtless, we owe much of the brilliant success which has attended so many Indian officers in their profession to a love of field sports, which has kept them "fit for their duty as soldiers, both in body and inclination."

Colonel Shakespear goes so far as to style hog hunting "the very first sport in the world." In danger and excitement it perhaps only comes short of tiger shooting, especially when such is rashly performed on foot, instead of from the back of an elephant. Then there is good sport in the destruction of other less fierce four-footed game, and the endless varieties of the feathered tribes; in the latter particular also to aid the sciences of ornithology and gastronomy.

* Contributed to *The Field*, London, April 26th, 1873.

† "India, the nursery of captains."—LORD LYTTON.

Horse racing, too—the love of which goes with Englishmen all over the world—is deeply rooted in Anglo-India; and thus, with their profession, the attractions of female society, a pipe, a little reading, and an occasional longing for old England, "runs," and has long run, from year to year, "the world away" among numbers of our countrymen in the glorious Empire of the sun.

That there should have been from time to time separate periodicals in India for recording sporting exploits was only natural. The enthusiasm with which Englishmen enter upon every description of sport in India induced Mr. Stocqueler, when editor of the *Bombay Courier* in the year 1828, to start the "Oriental Sporting Magazine." Its principal contributor was Captain D'Arcy Morris of the Bombay Army. He wrote some admirable parodies of Moore's "Loves of the Angels," which he called the "Tales of the Tinkers"—"tinker" being a term of reproach applied to bad sportsmen—and some spirit-stirring songs, one of which lives to this hour. "The next grey boar we see" will be popular in India as long as a boar remains to fall to the spears of the huntsmen. The great success of this magazine, to which Sir James Outram and Mr. Chamier, M.C.S., contributed, induced Mr. Stocqueler to start a similar one in Calcutta in 1834, and during the nine years of his editorship its success was immense. During the last two or three years of its existence it was supplemented by a miscellany, and the combination of the two elements rendered the magazine popular with all classes. The first talent in the country contributed to its pages. Besides innumerable sketches of tiger, lion, elephant, boar, deer, and jackall hunting, shooting in all its branches, racing, boating, cricket, and other registry, many articles were inserted in relation to the zoology of India. Among the sporting writers were Sir George Harvey, K.C.S.I., Mr. Charles Butcher—an Indigo planter, a poet, and a capital shot—Sir Alfred Larpent, Mr. Bailey, and many other distinguished civilians. Mr. Brian Hodgson, whose works on the fauna of India have a world-wide reputation, and Major Brown, of the Bengal Infantry (Gunga), were constant writers on the deer and game birds of the up-country. Dr. John Grant the Apothecary-General, a man of rare and diversified literary attainments, Henry Meredith Parker, Captain Robert A. Macnaghten, Captain Percy Eld, Major Backhouse (of the Artillery), Lord Exmouth, Dr. Parry, and Captain Walter Hore, all men of marked ability, contributed largely on an

infinite variety of subjects; and Mr. Stocqueler himself not unfrequently added to his editorial duties by writing humorous sketches. The magazine was profusely adorned with engravings illustrative of sport, chiefly commissioned from England. It is not unworthy of note that the now popular "Tale of a Tub and a Tiger" first appeared in the "Bengal Sporting Magazine," whence, writes Mr. Stocqueler, the sketches were plagiarised and the story paraphrased by the late T. H. Bayley.

Bearing on the subject of Indian sporting literature we are indebted for most of the following notes to a choice spirit of a world gone by—a distinguished officer and fellow of "infinite jest and most excellent fancy." The very mention of the names contained in them may tempt some Anglo-Indians of the old school in London to exclaim, like Aytoun, while singing the praises of his redoubtable old Scottish Cavaliers,—

> "Oh! never shall we know again
> Of hearts so stout and true;
> The olden times have passed away,
> And weary are the new."

Never, never more! Change has done its work. Never again can we hope to see such famous "letters" as those "from John Dockeray, a Yorkshire jockey, to his brother in Tadcaster," which first appeared in the *Bombay Sporting Magazine*. An able and amusing little article, said to be from the pen of the editor of that periodical, gave an admirable idea of the English stage coachman of the olden time. The manner in which he was represented as entertaining his friend on the box with the popular song of "Young love among the roses," intermixed with professional addresses to his team, was extremely amusing.

Some of the poetical contributions were of a degree of merit very superior to the ordinary run of poesy of that description to be met with even in England, in periodicals of far higher pretension. We doubt if the song commencing "The boar, the mighty boar's my theme," and ending with the chorus—

> "So here's to all who fear no fall,
> And the next grey boar we see,"

has ever been surpased as a sporting lyric; in short, we have little or no hesitation in saying that a more spirit-stirring canticle has seldom, if ever, been chanted at *shikar* party or "our mess." And, in a different style, the beautiful

imitation of Moore's "Harp that once through Tara's halls," commencing

"The spear that once o'er Dekhan ground
The blood of wild boar shed,"

is worthy of a place in poetical literature far above that of ordinary parody.

Of gun and rifle celebrity some forty-five years ago, we particularly hear of Tiger Shirreff, Tiger Apthorp, Vivian, Humffreys, Boddam, and Backhouse, the famed Bengal fox-hunter.

Boddam (Madras Cavalry) heard of Lord Kennedy's famous match, and he resolved to emulate it. He accordingly did the distance from Arcot to the Tinnery Tank-Wallajahbad—forty or more miles—driving, riding, and walking, and returning in the same manner, bringing back with him fifty-two couple of snipe, in the incredible short space of twelve hours, within which time he was dining at the mess.

Killing a tiger on foot was by no means an uncommon occurrence in the old days. Such men as Apthorp,* Humffreys (who was killed by a tiger), Shirreff, and Christie, with others of our own time, are hardly to be trifled with either in the forest or on the battle field. We observe that the last named gallant colonel has recently left Madras for England; and we much regret that the Presidency tiger-slayer's exploits have never been fully detailed in a Madras sporting periodical.

Well-known heroes of the turf of a past age in India are summed up in the names of Shepherd, Hall, Gash, Parker, and Salter. They are equally renowned as jockeys. As hunters, whether with hound or spear, John Elliot and Backhouse are never to be forgotten. But we should mention that some of the chief turf men in Bengal were Stevenson, Bacon, Grant, and John White. Stevenson was the father of the turf in that Presidency, while Macdowell—well-known as Arab Mac—claimed the honour in Madras.†

* General East Apthorp, C.B., K.S.F., died at Tunbridge Wells, March 3, 1875, aged 69.

† "Arab Mac" always kept some twenty or thirty horses in his stable; and the Griffin, or needy officer, wanting a "charger," knew where to go for the value of his money. Arab Mac's way of doing business was something in the following style: "Ye want a horse, Mr. Robinson; now here's a fine Persian" (or it might be an Arab) "which cost me 400 rupees. He's been in my stable a month; so I shall only charge ye 6 rupees for the Ghorawallah's (horsekeeper's) pay, 3½ for the grass cutter, 3½ for gram, and

Duncan Mackenzie (who enjoyed the turf sobriquet of Mr. North), Edward Gulliver Showers, of the Artillery, and the two Macleans, were chief among the glorious old "Mulls" who in their day shed glory o'er the turf, as Cunningham. (Cavalry) did in Bombay. As Nelson wished for a Gazette all to himself, so those turfites, with the other sportsmen already brought forward, might well have claimed an extraordinary magazine or review to chronicle all their brilliant sporting achievements. And are not the pages of the Bombay (*Oriental*) *Sporting Magazine* adorned with the illustrious names of those equine sons of the desert—the last, alas! of the *genuine* ones—Pyramid, Chapeau de Paille, Feramors, Salonica, Paul Pry, Sackcloth, Hurry Skurry, and a host of others well-known to its able editor? Although far from wishing to be guilty of the too common folly of crying up the past at the expense of the present, still we cannot help exclaiming, so far as sporting in India is concerned, Where are now the horses? and more important still, Where are the men? The ghost of an Outram on Ariel, or of a Pottinger on Selim, answers, Where? *Heu, quanto minus est cum reliquis versari quam tui meminisse.*

Colonel Davidson in his "Travels" gives some valuable information on Anglo-Indian gastronomy. This amusing, sprightly traveller, when he weighed less than nineteen stone, must have been a veritable sportsman. His discourse on the *cours gastronomique*, while officiating as *chef de cuisine* and excelling in making rich bread sauce for partridges, found its way into our most celebrated Indian periodical (the *Calcutta Review*); and, as we know some admirable Indian Nimrods who are very good cooks, the following extract, commencing in rare Johnsonian style, may be received with gratitude by our readers:—

"Bleak and barren indeed must that spot be where the eye of a sound-hearted and skilful gastronomist cannot discover matter for thankfulness! For him does sad and solitary Ascension gather together her luscious and indescribable turtle; for him the dark rocks and arid plains of the dry Deccan produce their purple grapes, and cunning but goodly bustard; for him burning Bundelkund its wonderful rock pigeon and ortolan inimitable; the Jumna, most ancient of rivers, its large rich kala banse and tasty crabs; for him yields the long and marshy Terace her elegant florican; the mighty Gunga its melting mâhâseer; the Goomtee its exquisite mullet."

Long may such gastronomists as the colonel be able to

one rupee for shoeing, with a rupee for heel-ropes, and the horse is yours for 415 rupees!" This speech, delivered with a strong Scotch accent, was highly characteristic of the kind-hearted Anglo-Indian sportsman.

prepare a tiffin for Indian sportsmen! and long may the periodicals exist which endeavour to chronicle their triumphs in ministering to the appetites of men who, as soldiers and statesmen, may deserve well of their country!

Having alluded to the pursuit of the "grey boar" as such splendid sport, and such hunting in India having formed the theme of so many exciting descriptions in magazines and newspapers, it may not be out of place, before taking leave of "a sounder of wild hog," to remark that the chief difference between hog hunting in Bengal, and in the Bombay Presidency and the "Hyderabad Deccan," is in "the nature of the ground ridden over, the length of the spear used, and the way it is carried," the difference of lengths and the system of using the weapon being accounted for "by the difference of grounds and the habits of the animal."* Let us then sing once more—

"So here's to all who fear no fall,
And the next grey boar *they* see!"

* Colonel Shakespear's "Wild Sports of India," p. 33.

APPENDICES.

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I.

LORD PALMERSTON AND SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

The following extracts from correspondence between Lord Palmerston and Dr. Burnes, relating to his brother Sir Alexander, are of interest. After a few letters the correspondence ceased, his lordship remarking that the opinions expressed were "those which he entertained, and the observations which he made were those which presented themselves to his mind." Those opinions his lordship still entertained, and those observations he was "not prepared to retract."

1.

J. BURNES TO LORD PALMERSTON.

40, Ladbroke Square, W., March 25, 1861.

My Lord,

I beg to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed extract, from the report in the *Evening Standard* of Wednesday last, of your speech in the debate of the preceding evening, and to ask the favour of your informing me if it be correct. Should it be so, I would explain that, although Lord Auckland disapproved of my brother's money arrangements with Candahar, yet shortly after his proceedings were reported to England, your Home Government distinguished him by a knighthood and a lieutenant-colonelcy; and that in announcing these honours to him, the Governor-General himself made the following frank avowal:—

"Simla, November 5th, 1838.

"My dear Sir,—I cordially congratulate you upon the public proofs of approbation with which you have been

marked at home. My private letters speak in high terms, of your proceedings in Cabul; and I may in candour mention that upon the one point upon which there was some difference between us—the proposed advance of money to Candahar—opinions for which I have the highest respect are in your favour. I do not grudge you this, and am only glad that a just tribute has been paid to your ability and indefatigable zeal."

I would also point out—in reference to the statement that "Sir Alexander Burnes was taken to task for having communicated, while in Afghanistan, to the Indian newspapers, information with which he was entrusted on account of the Government, a reproof" (your Lordship is alleged to add) "of which Sir A. Burnes was well deserving,"—that the Parliamentary Blue Book, page 98, distinctly disproves the same, and shows that it was one of my brother's subordinate officers, and not himself, who had indiscreetly communicated the said information, thereby incurring his disapprobation as well as that of the Governor-General, who, if I mistake not, took advantage of the occasion to compliment Sir Alexander Burnes on his well-know discretion.

Should this newspaper report be substantially correct, your Lordship will doubtless see the necessity of making the explanation I have furnished, in the place where the statements were made, seeing that, as they stand, they can have but one effect—that of depreciating the character and services of Sir Alexander Burnes.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

JAMES BURNES.

The Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, K.G., M.P., etc.

"In a dispatch written by the Governor-General of India he found fault with Sir A. Burnes for having entered into an arrangement with the Queen of Candahar, by which he committed the Indian Government beyond what he had authority to do. The Governor-General said he would not call upon him to make a public disavowal, but that he must take an opportunity of showing that the Indian Government were not prepared to make good the engagements which Sir A. Burnes had said that Government would enter into. So, with regard to Runjeet Singh, it had to be intimated to him that the policy of the Indian Government was not that

which Sir A. Burnes recommended them to pursue. There was another dispatch omitted, in which Sir A. Burnes was taken to task for having communicated, while in Afghanistan, to the Indian newspapers, information with which he was entrusted on account of the Government. This was a reproof of which Sir A. Burnes was well deserving. He did not mean to say that these things were serious cause of blame to Sir A. Burnes."

2.

LORD PALMERSTON TO J. BURNES.

Downing Street, April 1, 1861.

SIR,

I am desired by Lord Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 25th March.

Lord Palmerston desires me, in reply, to say that what he stated in the House of Commons with regard to the first dispatch from Sir W. Macnaghten, conveying the disapproval of Lord Auckland, of some communications made by Sir Alexander Burnes to the Ameer of Candahar, was much to the same effect as what Mr. Dunlop had, in his speech, said on the same subject. Lord Palmerston will, however, when he returns to town, look again at the Blue Book, and turn to the subsequent dispatch to which you refer him.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

EVELYN ASHLEY.

James Burnes, Esq.

We may conclude with some remarks from a letter by the energetic political, regarding the distinctions he had won, alluded to in his brother's note to Lord Palmerston:—

"Shikarpore, November 12, 1838.—You do indeed convey to me news, for I had not the remotest idea of the honours (the lieutenant-colonelcy and knighthood) coming, though they are to me truly acceptable, not as empty honours, but as setting my mind at rest that my conduct in Afghanistan has been approved. You may imagine that this gratifies me the more when I was at issue on it with the Government of India, and had plainly told them that they would sacrifice millions hereafter instead of lacs now."

II.

VISIT OF DR. JAMES BURNES, K.H., TO THE COURT OF SIND.

(HIS CURE OF AN AMEER.)

The visit of Dr. Burnes to a highly interesting, but, at the time, almost unknown Court, at Hyderabad on the Indus, made some forty-seven years ago, forms the subject of a narrative originally printed by the Government in India, and first issued from the Bombay press in 1830. The author little foresaw that his "visit to Sinde" (he spells the word with an e) would be followed by such a train of stirring events, in reference to the Indus, as would take place in the course of ten years (date of preface April, 1839). In 1831, the river was successfully navigated from the Ocean to Lahore, by his brother, Sir Alexander Burnes; during 1832-3-4, negociations were in progress, and treaties entered into with the Ameers, under Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Pottinger,* for the free opening of it as a channel of trade; and at the end of 1835, Messrs. Hedle and Wood —as if emulating Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, in Scotland —exhibited to the astonished natives of Hyderabad the *first steamboat* that ever entered the Indus. Our distinguished Anglo-Indian author thought that the extension of our power along the whole course of that river, would render it certain that, "ere long, the manufacturers of Manchester, Glasgow, and Birmingham, will be as common in Bokhara, Candahar, and Samarkand, as in the chief cities of Europe and Anglo-Asia." About 1827-28, Dr. Burnes, residency-surgeon in Cutch, was requested by the Ameers of Sind (in a most friendly letter to the Resident) to proceed without delay to Hyderabad on account of the sickness of Meer Mourad Ali Khan, one of the principal chiefs. The Knight of Hanover and accomplished Mason was to do for Sind what Boughton (1634) had done for Bengal in our early history of India, in which great country the members of the medical profession, whether in the case of natives or Europeans requiring their attendance and treatment, have done so much for humanity

* Well known for his diplomatic services in China, and Governor of Madras 1848-54.

through their admirable skill and never-ceasing kindness. The passages quoted, we trust, will show Dr. Burnes' easy and graphic style as a writer:—

"By a rigid attention to diet and constitutional treatment, together with the application of the most simple dressings to the disease itself, all dangerous symptoms disappeared by the 20th of November (1827), that is, ten days after my arrival at Hyderabad. I will confess that I was myself taken by surprise; and it is hardly possible to describe the gratification and gratitude of the Ameers when I announced to Mourad Ali the propriety of his resuming, with moderation, his usual pursuits. The illness of one confines the whole family; and none of them, therefore, had breathed fresh air outside the fortress for many months. Preparations were immediately made for a hunting excursion, to which they all proceeded, and I was also invited. The Ameer suffered no inconvenience for some weeks from his disorder, while a dread of the consequences prevented his neglecting the regimen prescribed. But when this ceased, he was guilty of some acts of imprudence and excess, which brought on a slight relapse, but did not much retard his general recovery.

"The suddenness of a cure so unexpected, and which was to be attributed, in a great measure, to the removal of the irritating substances formerly applied, impressed the Ameers with the idea that there were no bounds to my skill in my profession; and some fortuitous circumstances contributed to strengthen the delusion. I had occasion to administer a small quantity of a powerful medicine to Mourad Ali, who declined taking it, even after the same dose had been tried on the luckless attendant I have mentioned [Burnes had been the subject of experiment for each nauseous dose, but resigned in favour of an attendant], till he was positively assured by me what would be the exact effect upon himself. I saw at once that this was in their estimation a grand test of my knowledge; and it was one certainly which perplexed me considerably. Having no alternative, however, I boldly hazarded a guess, which the event, luckily for my reputation, proved correct; and this circumstance, trifling as it may seem, excited so much the attention of the Ameers that they alluded to it often afterwards.

"But to nothing, in this respect, was I more indebted than to the sulphate of quinine; a remedy hitherto perfectly unknown in Sinde, and the effect of which, as it scarcely ever fails in stopping the intermittent fevers of natives, I could

generally foretell with a degree of precision that astonished them. By means of this valuable medicine, I was enabled, shortly after my arrival, to cure in two days a favourite child of the prime minister, who had been suffering from fever for months together, with several other persons in the immediate service of the Ameers; and I would no doubt have gone on to raise my character higher, had not their Highnesses, the moment they discovered the effect of the quinine, seized the phial which contained it without ceremony, and ordered it to be sealed and locked up for their own proper use at a future period. Even afterwards, when I myself fell sick, no solicitations could induce them to part with a single grain, though I was dangerously ill; and when at my departure, I made a request for the bottle in exchange for another, as it was one which belonged to a valuable medicine chest, the proposal was at once rejected, evidently from an idea, that it might share with its contents some supposed talismanic virtue.

"Sinde would be a fair field for English quackery to flourish in. The Ameers never thought of doubting that I had the power of restoring the vigour of youth, provided I was disposed to do so; and Meer Sohrab sent me a letter from Shikarpoor, requesting me to bring to his senses one of his children who had been twelve years an idiot! Meer Noor Mahommed was disappointed that I did not possess the lamp of Aladdin or the wand of Prospero, to turn his mean and contemptible figure into the stately form of his brother Nusseer Khan. I was applied to by Meer Mahommed to remove a white speck from the neck of one of the beauties of his Seraglio, which had been born with her; and his Highness was evidently displeased when my attempts proved unsuccessful. The circumstances of my interview with this lady are curious. It was proposed that I should meet her in a garden, with a wall about five feet high between us; but as I objected to this mode of examining a patient, she was brought to my tent, muffled up among a crowd of old and ugly females, her attendants. She was very beautiful, almost as fair as an European, and altogether a favourable specimen of the women of Sinde, who are superior in appearance to those of India. I saw several dancing girls, whose elegant forms might have graced the harem of the Caliph Walid.

"In proportion as Mourad Ali's health recovered, the kindness and attention of the Ameers towards me increased. During my stay at Hyderabad, for the succeeding two months

and a half, every means was adopted by them that could afford me comfort or amusement. The vizier waited on me every morning and afternoon to accompany me to the durbar, where I passed six hours, and often more, daily in their company, and where they received me latterly in nearly the same manner as they did the younger princes. After the first or second visit, the ceremony of taking off the shoes, which was, I understand, rigidly insisted on during the two or three short interviews the late envoys had with them, was entirely dispensed with; and the whole arrangement of their court was changed, that a chair might be introduced for me. No entreaties could induce them to discontinue the extravagant system of entertainment for me and my people, which was kept up to the very last day I remained in Sinde.

"The conduct of a despotic prince regulates that of his followers. No sooner did the Sindian courtiers observe the disposition of the Ameers towards me, than they began to vie with each other in their obsequiousness. While I was at Hyderabad, I was visited, I believe, by the heads of all the tribes resident at court. Letters were read in my presence at the Durbar, which were to be sent to the Sikhs and other allies, announcing Mourad Ali's recovery, and highly complimentary to myself, together with congratulatory addresses from Meers Sohrab and Thara, entreating that every distinction might be paid me. Persian verses, filled with the grossest flattery, were repeated daily, and appeared extremely satisfactory to the Ameers, who themselves took the trouble to explain to me the meaning of the difficult passages.

"The example of the rulers had a proportionate effect on the people of Sinde. The intelligence of Meer Mourad Ali's recovery passed through the country like wildfire, and crowds flocked from all quarters, in the expectation of obtaining relief, many of them from incurable diseases. In every direction, around the garden which I occupied, there were encampments of strangers who had come from a distance. My gate was surrounded by petitioners from morning to night; and the moment I appeared abroad, I was assailed by the most piteous entreaties for medicine and assistance. All these demands on me I was obliged to attend to; nor is there any period of my life during which I underwent more continued labour than in Sinde. The Ameers gave me credit for my assiduity, and thanked me for expending, as they had been informed by report, four thousand rupees' worth of medicine on their subjects. I

assured them of my readiness to do my endeavours, but did not conceive it necessary to add, that the utmost the Honourable Company was likely to suffer on the occasion was nearer forty rupees than the amount they had alluded to.

"The consequence of my unremitting exertions was a violent attack of fever, which confined me to my bed for several days. The kindness I then experienced ought not to be omitted here. The Ameers did indeed refuse me the quinine; but they were constant in their enquiries, and extreme in their expressions of anxiety. During the whole of a day in which I was delirious, Wullee Mahommed Khan, whose good feeling I had gained by attention to his children, and frequent conversations with himself, never left my bedside; and when I recovered my senses, the first object which met my eye, was the respected old man kneeling in earnest prayer for my recovery. Such Samaritanism would do honour, and might be an example, to many of a purer creed and better education."—This we conceive to be a very entertaining extract; and we trust its insertion will be taken as a slight tribute to the admirable qualities of those who have adorned the Medical profession in India.

III.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN ON SIR JAMES OUTRAM.

"Sans peur et sans reproche."

A numerous and highly influential meeting was held on the 5th of March, 1861, at Willis's Rooms, "to mark in a permanent manner their high sense of the great public services and eminent character of that distinguished soldier and statesman, Sir James Outram."

On the platform were Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Harris, Lord Lyveden, Lord Keane, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, Sir John Lawrence, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Robert Hamilton, Mr. Crawford (Member for the City), Sir Frederick Currie, Sir John McNeill, Sir Minto Farquhar, Sir James Fergusson, Sir Henry Havelock, General Malcolm, General Hancock, Dr. Norton Shaw, Colonel Holland, Colonel Sykes, Captain Eastwick, Dr. Barnes, K.H., &c., &c. Among others present on the occasion were:—Lord Clyde, Sir R. Arbuthnot, Mr. Ricketts, Sir James Colville, Sir F. Abbott, Sir Henry Mont-

gomery, Mr. Charles Raikes, Captain Lynch, &c., &c. A considerable number of ladies, including Lady Keane, Lady Havelock, Lady Somerset, Lady Eastlake, Lady Green, Mrs. Bagnold, &c., were present in the front seats.

Lord Keane was sorry to state that the DUKE OF ARGYLL was unable to take the chair. His Grace's letter on the occasion contained the following tribute:—

"I trust I may be allowed to say with what warm admiration I have always regarded the character and services of Sir James Outram. The many great qualities which have been requisite for a successful career such as his in India are now much more generally appreciated than they once were. It is a matter of public importance that those who spend, and too often are called to exhaust, their powers in the service of our Eastern Empire, should receive, even in their lifetime, the public acknowledgments and honours they deserve."

The chair was taken by

LORD LYVEDEN,

Who said:—The person we are met here to celebrate is one of those characters which all Englishmen must admire—a real, thorough Anglo-Saxon, one of whom all of the race I am now addressing ought to be proud. (Cheers.) I had not the honour of his acquaintance in the earlier part of his life. The beginning of my acquaintance with him was somewhat singular, and at the same time so demonstrative of the character of the man, that I will mention the circumstance. It was in the year 1843, when the vote of thanks was proposed in Parliament to Sir Charles Napier and the army of Scinde, that I took occasion to mention the services of General Outram. Let no man suppose I am about to enter into the unfortunate controversy of that period; I am merely stating a matter of fact when I say that I endeavoured to urge upon the Government of that day the necessity of including in that vote of thanks the name of General Outram. I did so on account of his brilliant services in the celebrated defence of the Hyderabad Residency—that defence which was one of the brilliant achievements of that war, and characterized by Sir Charles Napier as "the extraordinary defence of the fearless and distinguished Outram."

I have glanced at the beginning and the close of General Outram's splendid career: others who will follow me will

enter into more specific details of those brilliant actions which have distinguished his life. I ask you to consider who it is we are met here to honour—what has been his course of life, and what the results. Did he, as is said is always the case in this country, owe his advancement to interest? How did he stand at the beginning of the race? He started single-handed, with his merit and ability only to carry him forward. I do not know who procured him his first nomination, but I do know who gave him his first preferment. This time last year we met here to celebrate and do honour to the character of one of the finest and noblest of our Indian statesmen—Mountstuart Elphinstone. He it was who first saw Outram's merit and advanced him to promotion. It was to Elphinstone and to his own merit that he was first indebted for that first position which afforded him the opportunities he has so nobly improved upon. What were General Outram's peculiar qualifications for success? He had that singularly useful qualification to every Indian official, the power of ingratiating himself with the native chiefs and with the native people. (Hear, hear.) Of all men I have ever known in the Indian service, except, perhaps, Sir George Clerk, the present Governor of Bombay,* he had that faculty beyond them all. It was not only that he possessed an intimate acquaintance with them and with their feelings and habits, but a sympathy with them and respect for their rights. It was this that won their hearts, and it was through this medium that he achieved such wonderful results. I pray God that all officers going out to India may emulate him in that quality; for without sympathy and regard for the feelings and rights of the native population, it will be impossible for us to maintain our Empire in the East; while, if you can kindle and keep alive a spark of sympathy and good feeling between the native and European populations, you will be able not only to maintain that Empire, but advance its happiness and prosperity far beyond anything that has yet been accomplished. (Hear, hear.) This is the character we are called upon to-day to celebrate; for the manner of the celebration I leave to future speakers to detail to you. But I do hope that before you leave this room you will provide the means, by your subscriptions, to raise some memorial to him, not only in the one country, but in both countries to which his fame belongs. I do hope that you will raise such a memorial

* Appointed 1860, and in 1874–75 a distinguished Member of the India Council.

in the land of his birth—that land which has sent forth so many of her sons to distant parts of the world, challenging all others in enterprise, and carrying the fame of Britain to the most distant regions of the habitable globe. I do hope, too, that you will raise such a memorial in India—the country which has witnessed his brilliant achievements, where his name is known from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Thibet, and from the mouth of the Brahmaputra to the Indus—thereby setting a bright example to succeeding ages, and showing what may be done by men of honesty of character and nobleness of purpose in the path of duty. Not once or twice has the path of duty been the way to glory; and if, as is sometimes the case, that glory lead but to the grave, let us remember that that grave is environed with martial honours, covered with a civic crown, and bedewed with the tears of all upright men.

SIR H. C. RAWLINSON.

Happily, the invidious distinctions of past times are now swept away, and all officers, whether serving in the East or West, are equally the servants of her Majesty the Queen; but if it had not been so, if the old gulf yet existed between the Royal and the Indian armies, still the case of James Outram would have been, and must have been, an exception. It would never have been tolerated that services of so noble and so national a character should have been localised as the exclusive property of an Indian presidency. No; James Outram's career belongs to England, and is the property of all time. (Hear, hear.) It is the career of one of England's best and bravest soldiers. (Loud cheers.) It forms a a bright and spirit-stirring chapter in the national history, and will descend to after ages with other histories of England's worthies, as an inheritance of glory, wherever the English language may be spoken, and wherever the memory may be cherished of gallant actions and of generous feelings.

To recapitulate Outram's services would be to travel over ground with which you are already familiar; yet I cannot keep silence altogether. A bird's-eye view of a few prominent features in his career, such as we may suppose to be displayed to the wondering gaze of our children's children, will perhaps answer all present purposes. Firstly, then, will appear the young officer of stalwart frame, unflinching nerve, iron constitution, and of joyous heart.

The jungle side, the parade-ground, have equal charm for him; he is a first-rate regimental officer, and the prince of Deccan sportsman. And here I would observe in passing, with all possible respect for the system of competitive examination, that the examples of Elphinstone and Malcolm, of George Clerk and James Outram, would go far to shake one's faith in the necessity of an exclusive mental culture while the boy is being ripened into the man. The next scene in the drama brings forward James Outram as the pioneer of civilisation, reclaiming the Bheels of Khandeish from barbarism, restoring order and good government to the Myhee-Caunta. Then comes the magnificent episode of the first Afghan war. Outram is still the daring officer, foremost in pursuit, last in retreat; now chasing the Ameer of Cabul across the Indian Caucasus, now sharing in the danger of the storm of Kelat, and afterwards riding alone and in disguise through an unknown and hostile country for 400 miles to carry the first news of the victory to Bombay.

Of Outram's later services in India I need say but little. His defence of the Residency at Hyderabad, which is one of the most striking passages in the military history of India, has been prominently brought before you by the noble lord who has preceded me. It is an exploit almost lost among the more glittering trophies of Outram's long and varied career, but it would alone have made the reputation of any less distinguished officer. (Loud cheers.) But we must remember that "peace has her virtues as well as war," and that the fifteen years which Outram passed during this part of his career in the political administration of Lower Scinde, of Sattara, of Guzerat, of Aden, and finally of Lucknow, constitute, in reality, the most valuable portion of his public life. He himself, no doubt, with the true instincts of a soldier, would dwell with more complacence on the brilliant success of his Southern Mahratta campaign, than the brief drama of the war in Persia; and finally, on the great crowning scene of his military career—the relief of Lucknow, and the defence of the Alum-Bagh; but in this estimate he would not be doing justice to himself. There were, in fact, great truths of civil government, which he enunciated and supported in every political situation that he filled—truths based upon eternal justice, and aiming at the vindication of right, irrespective of force or fraud, or convenience, or any other opposing influence, the full value of which is yet to be recognised in the future history of India.

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

India has produced some of the greatest men to be found in the whole range of history. But how remarkable was it to see those mighty intellects, having run their course in India—some of them dying there and forgotten, and others coming back here, and (so far as their country was concerned) sinking into oblivion—men whose great knowledge, large hearts, and long experience would render them capable of giving valuable advice to the Government—put aside as though they had never existed at all, and other men, satraps in power, if they had only the dishonesty common to man, might have enriched themselves to any extent, returning to this country in a condition of almost absolute poverty. When they had an example before them such as he need not name, for it would be apparent to all who were present, those who knew these things and appreciated them should, when they had the opportunity, exalt with all the force they could the disinterested services of those remarkable men. (Hear.) Heartily did he pray for the welfare of India and for those who were going out to administer her affairs—those alike who were going to the highest, and those who were going to the lowest stations, under the new and (as it was called) improved system of government. Whatever might be thought of the old system of governing India, he for one could not have unlimited confidence in the new; and well would it be for India, well would it be for her teeming millions, well would it be for the cause of civilisation and for the honour and dignity of Great Britain, if, in the two generations next to come, they had in that Empire such gallant, noble, and disinterested men as Sir James Outram.

COLONEL SYKES

Moved that the following noblemen and gentlemen form a managing committee, to carry out the resolutions of the meeting [regarding an "Outram Testimonial]:—General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., Chairman; the Lord Keane; the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, M.P. [W. Cubitt]; the Right Hon. Sir John M'Neill, G.C.B.; Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P.; Sir James D. H. Elphinstone, Bart., M.P.; General E. M. G. Showers; Major-General Sir R. J. H. Vivian, K.C.B.; Major-General D. Downing; Dr. Norton Shaw; W. H. Russell, LL.D.; J. W. Kaye, Esq.; Major-

General D. Malcolm; Major-General H. Hancock; Captain Sherard Osborn, C.B., R.N.; Colonel J. Holland; Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. Havelock, Bart., V.C.

He observed that the chief characteristics of Sir James Outram were hatred of oppression and wrong in every form, and a total abnegation of self. As marking Sir James Outram's disinterestedness, Colonel Sykes referred to his refusal of the Scinde prize money, and described him as the Bayard of the East, *sans peur et sans reproche*.

DR. JAMES BURNES.

The merit of his noble qualities, except what is due to the widowed and devoted mother who fostered his chivalrous spirit, belongs exclusively to himself, for he was cast upon the waters at the age of fifteen, and must be considered the architect of his own intellectual and moral character, as well as of his own success and glory—self-educated, self-elevated, in a struggle through a service by seniority, where nothing but pre-eminent merit or powerful interest (which he never had till he made it for himself) could obtain effectual preferment. That these noble qualities have won the esteem of men need not be told here; the present great assembly and the list of names connected with it show triumphantly how Outram has secured the admiration of his own sphere, whether connected with India or not; but it is needless to say that this feeling is not confined to his own sphere. Throughout life he has been the friend rather of those below than those above him—the friend of the private soldier; and many now present may recall the remarkable scene at the banquet given at Bombay to the noble 78th Regiment, on its return from Lucknow, when (after the other toasts had fallen coldly), on his health being proposed, the men started up *en masse* to do him honour, many of them in tears. He was far away, and though soldiers might admire a brave and successful commander, and civilians an astute diplomatist, none but a truly loveable man could have forced his way into the hearts of rude veterans, steeled by passing through the most horrible events the age has witnessed. (Cheers.) It is well we should know, also, what other nations think of him, and I have seen a letter from a distinguished general of our Royal army, now domiciled at Paris, which says, that, had he been a Frenchman, long ere this his statue would have graced

many of the principal cities of France. As for the idea which has been pressed by some, that statues should not be raised to living men, it would be idle to meet it in company where so many men of Indian experience are assembled. To say nothing of those erected at Calcutta to many while alive, we had at Bombay, Wellesley, Elphinstone, and Malcolm, all in cold marble long before they were dead; and in doing justice to Outram, there can be no reason why our wishes on this point should not be carried out here, and the highest of all honours, a statue, be dedicated to him. Englishmen are, I presume, English alike, whether in the torrid or the frigid zone, and as much entitled as the ancient Romans were to raise statues to their living heroes.

But to the resolution. The committee proposed is small, for a reason which will suggest itself to all practical men; but it is undeniably a fair type and representation of the unprecedented number of our countrymen who have come forward, even before official steps were taken, eager to do honour to one who has done honour to us all. Foremost stands appropriately the gallant veteran who forced the Khyber pass, supported by the noble lord, the son of the famous General who captured Ghuznee, himself a comrade of Outram, and the son and worthy representative of Havelock—a name to be imperishably identified with that of Outram in history; and here fore-shadowing the statues of the great twin brethren," which we intend shall

"Stand in the Comitium,
Plain for all folk to see!" (Cheers.)

To represent the diplomatic service we have Sir John M'Neill, so distinguished by his career in Persia and his independence in the Crimea; while, in literature, we have Mr. Kaye and Mr. Russell, perhaps the most brilliant writers of the day.* Parliament appears in Sir James Fergusson and Sir James Elphinstone, the former of whom has taken so marked and interesting a part in the proceedings of this day; our great metropolis in its respected chief magistrate; science in the person of Dr. Norton Shaw, the well-known popular secretary of the Geographical Society; the navy in that of Captain Sherard Osborn, one of the class of which Nelsons and Dundonalds are made; and the army by various esteemed generals, including Sir Robert Vivian and and George Malcolm—the one an able member of the Indian

* Mr. Kaye, Dr. Russell, and General Hancock, were also honorary secretaries to the managing committee.

Council (better known here, perhaps, as the commander of the Turkish contingent in the Crimea), and the other the son of a man whose great deeds forced an apathetic English public to admit that India did produce soldiers and statesmen; with General Hancock and Colonel Holland, officers highly honoured in the service, and who, having filled for years the chief places in the staff of the army to which Outram belonged, are especially fit to judge of his merits, and to take a prominent part in doing honour to them. Such tried men must, I am confident, be acceptable to the promoters of this great movement, and I accordingly beg to support Colonel Sykes's nomination of them. (Much applause.)

A REMINISCENCE OF SIR JAMES OUTRAM.

The present writer once only had the honour of being in the company of Sir James Outram. The interview is briefly described in the "Lighter Literary Recreations," attached to his work on "Orissa," &c., (p. 267, "Overland—Homeward-Bound;" 12th June, 1849). But it is not mentioned in the traveller's diary that the Bayard of the Indian Army, at breakfast, about to indulge in the homely beverage of tea, aided by cold mutton and pickles (of which he had been ordered by the doctors *not* to partake), rather dispelled the romantic idea of Chivalry which had been formed regarding one whose proper food appeared to be a "pasty of the doe," with a cup of Malvoisie, or red wine, to drink "through the helmet barred!" But brave knights, on furlough for their health—especially in Egypt—are very like ordinary mortals. The rambling subaltern had just been visiting and making notes on Pompey's Pillar at Alexandria:—"After an excellent bath, returned to the hotel, where I met Colonel Outram, 'the Bayard of the Indian Army,' at breakfast. There appeared to be no affectation of the 'great man' about him; the soldier and political agent boasts too solid an intellect for such unmeaning absurdity. The Colonel was on furlough in Egypt, on account of his health. In manner he evinced great urbanity; like all really great men, silent unless spoken to, and then concise though explanatory." His eye was remarkable; it seemed to look through you at once, as if, in vulgar phrase, "stock" having once been taken, there were little or no chance of his opinion regarding you being altered.

London and Calcutta have now (1875) their statues of Sir James Outram. The "Outram Memorial," by Mr. Foley—the lamented artist cut off in the flower of his genius—which was recently forwarded to the City of Palaces, represents, says a writer in the *Oriental*, "the intrepid Sir James on a fiery Arab steed, in the heat of action. Bareheaded and sword in hand, he appears to be urging his followers to the glorious strife." While this admirable work of art was in position, between the United Service and Athenæum Clubs, loungers in Pall Mall and the general public might be seen gazing on the statue with no common interest.—[The Londoners of 1886 have for some years past had their statue of the Bayard of the Indian Army, in a tastefully laid out garden on the Thames Embankment,* to admire; so, with Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Sind, and Sir Henry Havelock, the hero of the Mutiny of 1857, in Trafalgar Square; and Lord Clyde, with Lord Lawrence,† of the Punjab, near Pall Mall, the warriors and saviours of India are well kept before them.]

* With the simple inscription—

"OUTRAM,"

as if sufficient to remind the world of the character and services of such a distinguished Anglo-Indian. He died 11th March, 1863.

† The inscription on the pedestal of this statue is as follows:—

JOHN,
FIRST LORD LAWRENCE,
RULER OF THE PUNJAB
DURING THE
SEPOY MUTINY OF 1857,
VICEROY OF INDIA
FROM
1864 TO 1869.
ERECTED BY HIS FELLOW SUBJECTS,
BRITISH AND ANGLO-INDIAN,
A.D. 1882.

IV.

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR GEORGE POLLOCK, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

It is not so very long since we recorded the high compliment paid to the old Indian Army by the appointment of General Sir G. Pollock to the Constableship of the Tower. His sudden death at Walmer last Sunday morning (October 6th) recalls too vividly the picturesque, wintry scene which witnessed his installation in the post of honour which has proved to be the last earthly reward of his distinguished services. And yet we ought scarcely to regret that the gallant old soldier received his last marching order so suddenly. More than a generation has passed away since the exploit of arms which rendered his name a famous one in English history; and old Time, which had silvered his hairs, had no power over his health and spirits, nor even over his reputation. It is pleasant to reflect that the kindly, courageous old soldier who forced the Khyber Pass, has marched through the gates of death with bands playing and colours flying, not as one who surrenders to the enemy, but as one who makes a gallant sortie.

Born in 1786, he entered the military service of the East India Company at the time when Lord Wellesley was Governor-General, and his brother Arthur had the command of the forces, a year before the Mahrattas were crushed at Assaye. He was commissioned as Lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery just when Lake and Wellesley were about to take the field, and all India was watching with eager expectation the movements of the British Army, which was carrying all before it. At the storming and capture of Deïg, in 1804, young Pollock was present; and in 1805, during the gallant but unsuccessful attempts of the British Army to carry Bhurtpore by assault, he was busy in the trenches. At the close of the year he was selected by Lord Lake to command the artillery with the detachment under Colonel Ball, which was sent in pursuit of Holkar. He held different staff appointments from this date down to the year 1817, when, in command of the Artillery with General Wood's force, he took part in the stirring scenes of the Nepaulese war. In 1818 we find him appointed Brigade-Major; and subse-

quently he held the Assistant-Adjutant-Generalship of Artillery, from the first institution of that appointment down to 1824, when, having attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, he volunteered to join the army destined for Burma. He was now nominated by Sir Edward Paget to command the Bengal Artillery attached to the force under Sir Archibald Campbell, which was proceeding to Rangoon, and for his services in this campaign he received the Companionship of the Bath. From this time, with the exception of a three years' furlough, which he spent in England for the benefit of his health, he had different regimental and brigade commands, and established his reputation as being one of the best officers in the service.

In 1841, when Sir Robert Sale and a British force were shut up in Jellalabad, Pollock, then in command of the garrison of Agra, with the rank of Major-General, was selected to take the command of the troops proceeding to Peshawur, in the place of General Lumley. As Sir John Kaye has observed in his "History of the War," the force sent on this critical service required the superintendence and control of an officer equally cool and firm, temperate and decided. The situation was desperate, and the position of Pollock, when he reached Peshawur on the 5th of February, 1842, and found that an immediate advance was impossible, was a most painful one. He knew that it was sound policy to wait; but Sale and McGregor were writing urgent letters calling upon him to push on without delay. A single incautious step was almost certain to be fatal; the enemy was flushed with success, the country almost impassable, the reinforcements slow to come, the demand upon his chivalrous sentiments almost importunate. It needed a cautious temperament and a cool determined judgment to resist the temptation to make a dash, but Pollock completely justified his reputation and kept his soul in patience. At last the wished-for moment arrived, and though he had now to disobey his government, he was no less firm in his purpose to advance than he had been to wait. His brilliant successes in the operations against the Afghan forces at Mamookail and Jugdulluck, and finally against all troops under Akbar Khan, make one of the most glorious pages in our military history. Two days later he took possession of Cabul, and within a few days reaped the reward of his long and patient waiting by effecting the release of the prisoners, after the many months of their long and hopeless captivity. He was almost immediately joined by General Nott, and in the

course of the following month led the whole of the united army safely back to the east of the Indus, and so to Central India, through those formidable passes which had so long delayed his progress. If he did not "save India" by this exploit—for indeed the time had not yet arrived, though it was fast approaching, when the salvation of India was in question—he at least restored our prestige in the East, and lifted the old flag from the mire in which it had been trodden.

Few men with the same modesty of temperament as Sir George Pollock have dared to act with equal firmness on their own responsibility. Quiet and unobtrusive in his manners, apparently without ambition, averse to display and with little of the outward pretence to dignity, he was yet tenacious of his purpose, and no more capable of being turned from the path he had deliberately chosen than the most ambitious man alive. For his services in this memorable crisis of history, Sir George Pollock received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and a pension of £1,000 per annum from the East India Company. The freedom of the City was also conferred upon him, and on taking up his residence in England he became one of the Crown Directors of the East India Company. Finally, he was one of the first to receive the Decoration of the Star of India, and had the honour of succeeding Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne as Constable of the Tower. On the whole, there is not a more honourable record in the annals of the British Army than that which is headed with the name of Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock.—See *Broad Arrow*, October 12, 1872.

V.

DR. BRANDIS ON SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE.

THE LATE SIR A. P. PHAYRE.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR—Will you permit one who has served under Sir Arthur Phayre in Burma to say a few words regarding the work accomplished by that great and good man?

In January, 1856, I landed at Rangoon. At Calcutta I had been permitted to submit to Lord Dalhousie, then

Governor-General of India, the outline of the plans which I had framed for the administration of the Pegu forests, and these plans it was my privilege to carry out under the direction of Major Phayre, until, at the close of 1862, I was sent for by the Government of India to undertake the organization of forest business in the other provinces of the Indian Empire.

In the first annual report which Major Phayre submitted to Government on the administration of Pegu (1855–6) he said, "In arranging the affairs of a country where from any cause the ordinary status of society has been disturbed, the first care must be to provide protection to life and property." For the accomplishment of this task he laid his plans with systematic foresight, and these plans he carried out with immovable firmness, but always in such a manner as to conciliate the people. The task was difficult; anarchy and unrepressed violence had existed for a long time under the Burmese Governors, and the dread of being again abandoned, as was the case after the temporary occupation of Pegu in 1825, made the people unwilling openly to attach themselves to the British Government. Nevertheless, by the close of 1854, two years after annexation, the country was quiet.

In his first report Major Phayre mentions the remarkable disregard of human life among Burmans, and the attempts which had been made to explain it. "Perhaps the main cause of the disregard of human life," he continues, "may be traced—paradoxical though it be—to the Buddhist religion, which forbids the taking of all animal life, but draws no broad distinction between the life of the lower animals and that of man. When the passions are excited the feeble bonds which restrain from murder are soon burst asunder." These words should be remembered at the present time, when the course of events has imposed upon the British Government in India the much larger task of putting down crime and violence in Upper Burma and, at the same time, of maintaining order in British Burma.

All important questions Phayre approached in the spirit of a scholar, and in forming his conclusions he employed the methods of scientific research. When he had formed his views he acted with the promptitude and boldness of a soldier and the calm moderation of a statesman. For many years he had been Assistant Commissioner at Moulmein, and afterwards Commissioner of Aracan, so that when he became Commissioner of Pegu his name was well known among Burmans and Karens in the annexed province. His firm-

ness, his justice, his great liberality, his mastery of the language and intimate knowledge of the people, his commanding figure had made him feared and popular in the best sense of the word long before he became Commissioner of Pegu. There was a bond of sympathy between him and the people which was most remarkable. He was never married, and the Burmans could only explain the pure life which he led by regarding him as a saint, a superior being, a kind of demigod. They worshipped him, and their confidence in him was unbounded.

It was a charming sight to see him at work in the early morning at his high standing desk in the open verandah of his house, and around him, in respectful positions on mats spread upon the floor, Burmese men, girls, and women, who had come to pay their respects, to present offerings of fruit and flowers, and to lay before him their troubles and their grievances. Now and then he would turn round to say a kind word to his visitors. With the private circumstances of many he was acquainted, and he listened to them all with the greatest patience. With all that he was their king and master, the people feared him as much as they loved him, and he was never molested.

A sentry he never would have at his door, nor did he, after the country had become quiet, take a guard or escort with him on his journeys. In March, 1861, I met him in the hills of the Pegu Yoma. He was on his way from Toungoo to Thayetmyo, and I was marching in the opposite direction. I wished to meet him in the teak forests which cover these hills and on the spot, to discuss with him important questions. So I went ahead of my camp, and after several long and hot marches climbing over the entangled stems of the large bamboo, which had seeded and died, I reached the Commissioner's tent late on the 3rd of March. He was alone, and we spent a most delightful evening together. All he carried was a 10ft. square. After dinner his camp bed was brought in, and for me some horse blankets and rugs were spread upon the ground. At this place we were only 16 miles from the frontier. A few Karen villages were in these hills, and the men were all with his camp clearing the path through the forest for his elephants. That was all the protection he had, but he knew it was sufficient.

In 1859 the first reliable census was taken in Pegu, and it gave a population of 948,731 souls. Immigration from Upper Burma had already set in, and the former inhabitants had commenced to return to the tracts along the frontier

which after the war had almost became deserted. When he wrote his first report, Phayre did not expect that this would happen in his time. He did not then foresee that he would succeed in making British rule so exceedingly popular among Burmans, Shans, and Karens. India—that is, Bengal and the Madras coast—he wrote in 1856, "is the only country to look to for settlers." In this, as in other matters, he did not know his own strength.

The success has been miraculous. When, in 1862, the province of British Burma was formed, the total population was 1,898,000, and in 1884 Mr. Bernard, the present Chief Commissioner, estimated it at 4,334,000. This increase is mainly due to immigration from Upper Burma. Though in 1856 Phayre had no idea that his administration and that of his successors would accomplish so much, the means by which this result has been brought about are clearly set forth in his first report. Among the most prominent of the material benefits gained by the people of Pegu he recounts the abolition of forced labour, "a load which bowed the people to the dust," the introduction of a coin of fixed value, free export of grain and the abolition of transit duties, and more than all, just and steady government and effective repression of crimes.

Phayre was determined from the commencement that the province should pay its way and should eventually contribute its share to the requirements of the Indian Empire. In order to effect this he insisted upon high taxation, he maintained the capitation tax, which, though theoretically objectionable, has wisely been continued to this day, and at the same time he enforced the most rigid economy in the administration. The result has proved that his policy was right. The total revenue of British Burma, including local and municipal taxes, amounted in 1861–2 to 10 millions, and in 1883–4 to 31 millions of rupees. As shown by Mr. Bernard in his report for 1883–4, the people of British Burma pay about 13s. 7½d. per head of the population, which is more than twice the amount paid by the people in the British provinces of India. In spite of this high taxation, wealth accumulates and immigration is filling the country. Trade, imports as well as exports, has increased in a most astonishing manner.

Phayre's success as Governor of the Mauritius is well known. With characteristic modesty, he wrote to me that he had expected to get on well with the Indian coolies, for whose sake he had mainly been sent there; but that, with his limited knowledge of French, he had not expected to succeed

so soon with the Creoles in the island. There, as in Burma, it was the high standard which he set himself, and the single-minded determination to do what was right and useful for others, which gained him the heart of everybody. His friends and admirers have often thought that if he had had more self-assertion he might have attained higher positions and a larger sphere of usefulness. Be that as it may, the genuine modesty of that great man had a charm which his friends can never forget.

D. BRANDIS, late Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India.

Bonn-on-the-Rhine, Dec. 21, 1885.

The following brief article also appeared at this time in the *Overland and Homeward Mails*, in addition to the obituary notice given in the body of this work; and it shows a hearty appreciation of the departed and his distinguished services.

SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE.

AT the moment when the strong arm of his country has intervened to rescue Burma from barbarism, and remove the malign influences that have hitherto blighted its prosperity, death has closed the career of a man who devoted his best years to the service of the British provinces of that country, and who did more than any other single individual for their improvement and development. Sir Arthur Phayre's connection with Burma began with his employment in Arracan after the first Burmese war, and led to his being appointed Commissioner of Pegu on its annexation by Lord Dalhousie. After the embassy sent by the Burmese to Calcutta, which was met by the Viceroy's celebrated refusal to withdraw, in the words, "As long as the sun shines in the heavens, the British flag shall wave over these possessions," Major Phayre was sent as English Envoy to Amarapoora, then the capital. His mission was complimentary, and by his judgment and tact he succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the prince who was still sore for the two provinces he had lost. Sir Arthur Phayre's most distinguished course of services commenced with his appointment as first Commissioner of the United Provinces of British Burma. The work which he accomplished during the seven years of his tenure of this post was worthy to rank with the most brilliant successes

of English administrators in the East. His long and careful study of the Burmese character and language, added to his own remarkable talents and zeal, enabled him to follow the idiosyncrasies and appreciate the true needs of that peculiar people. With unfailing energy and success he gained their confidence and sought their welfare, and he has left an enduring monument of his genius in the happiness, unity, and prosperity of the people he did so much to befriend.

A sketch of Sir Arthur Phayre was also published in the Proceedings of the *Royal Geographical Society*, by his learned and esteemed friend, Colonel Yule, C.B., for many years, and still, a Member of Her Majesty's Indian Council in London.

VI.

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN, BART.

No work on distinguished Anglo-Indians could possibly omit the late Sir Charles Trevelyan. Doubtless, a biography of this eminent public servant will appear ere long. Meanwhile, the following most interesting, and highly appreciative article, from a leading London journal, deserves a more lasting place than in the passing columns of a newspaper :—

By the death of Sir Charles Trevelyan, which occurred on Saturday (19th of June), and which we announce with deep regret, England loses one of her oldest public servants. Born in 1807, Sir Charles was only seven years younger than his illustrous relative, Lord Macaulay, whom he has outlived for more than a quarter of a century. To the public the name of Sir Charles Trevelyan is less familiar than that of his son, now Sir George Trevelyan. But those who think that statecraft is a higher thing than bookcraft may perhaps be further of opinion that the son's opportunity of outstripping his father was yet to come. Sir Charles Trevelyan received his real training for the business of life in one of the best of the world's schools, the Civil Service of India. He was, we need hardly say, one of the old Haileybury men who flourished and did their country some service, before the days of the "Competition Wallah," about whom Sir George Trevelyan has written such an amusing book. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of the day, employed Mr. Charles Trevelyan in several important posts. But the friendship of the Legal

Member of Council proved an even greater influence in his life than the patronage of the Governor-General. The Legal Member of Council from 1834 to 1838 was Thomas Babington Macaulay, and his sister Hannah became Sir Charles Trevelyan's wife. In a letter dated the 7th of December, 1834, and published in his nephew's fascinating biography, Macaulay gives an interesting account of his future brother-in-law. "Trevelyan," he says, "is about eight-and-twenty. He was educated at the Charterhouse, and then went to Haileybury and came out hither. In this country he has distinguished himself beyond any man of his standing by his great talent for business, by his liberal and enlarged views of policy, and by literary merit which, for his opportunities, is considerable." The qualification in the last sentence was not unnecessary. Sir Charles Trevelyan, with all his intellectual acuteness, remained throughout his life rather a man of business than a man of letters. Young as he then was, Charles Trevelyan had already distinguished himself by a remarkable instance of courage and public spirit. The official under whom he was placed at Delhi—a man almost at the head of the service—was in the habit of receiving bribes from the natives. He tried to corrupt Trevelyan. But the only result was his own exposure and disgrace. The determination shown by a mere lad in braving the social penalties which always await an attack from a subordinate upon misconduct in high quarters naturally brought Trevelyan into favourable notice, and from that time the highest career was open to him.

Sir Charles Trevelyan took from the first the keenest interest in those economic studies which he never afterwards wholly dropped. He belonged, like Macaulay himself, to the school of Ricardo, which happens just now to be extremely unpopular, but whose merits or defects this is scarcely the place to discuss. Macaulay described a report which Trevelyan wrote, before he was thirty, on the Internal Transit Duties of India as "a perfect masterpiece of its kind," and such praise from such a source is worth repeating even after the lapse of fifty years. Lord William Bentinck's judgment of Sir Charles is interesting. "That man," he said, "is almost always on the right side of every question; and it is well that he is so, for he gives a most confounded deal of trouble when he happens to take the wrong one." "His reading," wrote Macaulay in a most characteristic sentence, "has been very confined; but to the little that he has read he has brought a mind as restless and

active as Lord Brougham's, and much more judicious and honest." Mr. Charles Trevelyan was indeed much perplexed by the conversation of his wife and her brother. They talked about the characters in Richardson's novels as if they were familiar acquaintances of every day, and the young Civil Servant, whose researches had never extended to the circulating library, was puzzled to find what extraordinary associates the Macaulays had. Charles Trevelyan was brought up to work, and not to converse. He had seen scarcely any society in India before he met with Miss Macaulay. "He has," says Macaulay, "no small talk. . . His topics, even in courtship, are steam navigation, the education of the natives, the equalization of the sugar duties, the substitution of the Roman for the Arabic alphabet in the Oriental languages." His recreations were rather physical than mental. He was "very active and athletic, and renowned as a great master in the most exciting and perilous of field sports, the spearing of wild boars." "Birth," adds Macaulay in this most interesting letter, "is a thing I care nothing about; but this family is one of the oldest and best in England." The transit duties on which Charles Trevelyan wrote, were abolished at his suggestion, and his exertions induced the Government of India to undertake the education of the natives. Everybody who has read the "Life of Macaulay" (and who has not?) must remember that Sir Charles Trevelyan's appointment to an Assistant Secretaryship at the Treasury enabled Macaulay to enjoy the society of his favourite sister, to whom he read a great deal of his "History" before it came out. "Hannah cried, and Trevelyan kept awake," he notes in his journal after one of these occasions. Mr. Trevelyan was in 1848 made a Knight-Commander of the Bath for his labours in relieving the distress caused by the great famine. His Irish experience convinced him of the futility of relief works, against which he protested only a few years ago when it was proposed to revive them in Ireland.

It is to Sir Charles Trevelyan more than to any other man that the nation owes the great advantage of a Civil Service open to public competition. The principle is even now not completely carried out, as the examples of the Foreign Office and the Education Department are enough to show. But it has been adopted as the rule, and its adoption is due to the Report drawn up by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote. The wisdom of their recommendation is now generally acknowledged. But it made its authors

personally unpopular at the time, and the larger share of the unpopularity fell upon Sir Charles Trevelyan. He was satirised in Anthony Trollope's very clever and amusing novel "The Three Clerks," under the name of Sir Gregory Hardlines; Sir Stafford Northcote figuring under the milder pseudonym of Sir Warwick Westend. Competitive examinations have often been condemned because they are but rough and fallible tests, as no doubt they are. It must, however, be remembered that they were proposed as an alternative, not to infallible omniscience, which would be the best method if it were only practicable, but to Ministerial jobbery, which is practicable, and was flagrant. In 1859 Sir Charles Trevelyan was appointed Governor of Madras, but he was recalled in the following year for publishing a protest against the new taxes proposed by the Government of India. Lord Palmerston's administration, however, took the opportunity thus curiously afforded of publicly thanking him for the distinguished services which he had rendered to the Crown of England and to the people of India. He was not long left without employment, being made in 1862 Financial Minister at Calcutta, a post which he retained for two years and a half. On his return home he devoted his untiring energy to the most useful object, in which he was assisted by his son, of procuring the abolition of purchase in the army, which was finally done by Royal warrant in 1872. In 1874, after the death of his first wife, Sir Charles Trevelyan was created a baronet, and the title of course descends to their only son, the Right Hon. George Otto Trevelyan, member of Parliament for the constituency to which the Reform Act of 1867 gave the picturesque designation of the Border Burghs. The honour, whatever may be its value, has certainly never come down from a worthier father to a worthier son. Sir Charles Trevelyan belonged to the best and highest type of Anglo-Indian officials, and it would be difficult to pay any one a higher compliment.

The Daily News, June 21, 1886.

VII.

SIR GEORGE RUSSELL CLERK, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.

We regret to have been unable to procure any particulars of the life of this distinguished Anglo-Indian, so we must be content with the following interesting record of his services. Sir George, like others among his contemporaries, has "renewed his youth like the eagle."

Clerk, Sir George Russell, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.—1818, arrived in Bengal 18th of February as Writer; 1819, Assistant to Magistrate of Suburbs of Calcutta, and to Superintendent of stamps; 1820, Assistant to Magistrate and Judge, and Registrar of Nuddea; afterwards First Assistant to Secretary in Secret and Political Department. 1821, Second Assistant to Resident at Rajputana and Malwa, and Officiating-Assistant to Superintendent at Ajmere. Proceeded to Europe 13th of March, 1824, and returned to India in 1827, where he became Assistant to Resident at Nagpur; afterwards First Assistant to Resident at Delhi and to Governor-General's Agent at Rajputana. 1828, Officiating Political Agent at Jeypore; 1830, the same at Bhurtpore and at Cotah-Boondee; 1831, Political Agent at Umballah; 1839, officiating as such at Loodianah; 1840, Agent to Governor-General in the Punjab; 1842, Envoy to the Court of Maharaja Shere Singh at Lahore; 1845, appointed Provisional Member of Council of the Governor-General, and in 1846 confirmed in Appointment; 1847, appointed Governor of Bombay (taking his seat 23rd of January). Resigned the service 1st of May, 1848, on being succeeded by Viscount Falkland. Made a K.C.B. 29th of April, 1848. In 1856, appointed one of the Secretaries to the Board of Control; and in 1859 became Under-Secretary of State for India, on transfer of Indian affairs to the Crown. In 1860, re-appointed Governor of Bombay, and assumed charge on on 11th of May. Made a G.C.S.I. 29th of June following, on foundation of the Order of Star of India. Resigned Governorship in 1862, and in 1864 appointed a Member of Council of the Secretary of State for India; 1876, retired from Council and public service.

VIII.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

So far back as August, 1868, the name of Dr. George Birdwood, in Bombay, for at least ten years, had been familiar as a household word; and the honours paid him on his departure for Europe on leave, on account of failing health, amply testified to the excellence of one who had been a "leader in every good work" while a resident in the great commercial capital of the Western Presidency. Since then, through shadow and sunshine, he has zealously continued his labours, till he has in truth become a distinguished Anglo-Indian; and now, for some years, his name in the India Office has also been familiar as a household word. His mental energy seems to be indomitable; and, like a true soldier, he is always ready for action, and anxious to do his duty. He fully deserves all the honours bestowed on him.

The *Academy* (July, 1886) says:—The following brief sketch will be read with interest at a time when the University of Cambridge has recognised the value of Sir George Birdwood's life-long labours by conferring upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.:—"Sir George Birdwood, C.S.I., comes of a good old Devonshire stock, being the fourth in lineal descent who has served the East India Company. Brought up amid the traditions and mementoes collected by a family so long associated with the East, Sir George's imaginative and enthusiastic temperament was early stimulated by the records and arts of its ancient civilization. The interest thus early acquired has never, even under the heaviest pressure of the most prosaic work, relaxed or diminished; and to this day matters of the utmost importance which could not be classed under the head of duty would be thrown aside to trace the influence of Indian art on the ornamentation of a Greek capital or an Italian peasant's wedding veil, or to show how the greatness of the nations of the West has ever depended upon their command of the trade routes to the East. He delights to point out how Solomon built Tadmor in the wilderness to secure the benefits of the overland transit, since familiarized to the world by the projectors of the Euphrates Valley Railway and other schemes; how the Pharaohs attempted to cut

ship canal which has immortalised M. De Lesseps; the wealth and strength of the Phœnicians, who have left a memorial of their Indian connection in the still existing name of a street in the Cornish town of Bodmin; and the supremacy of the Dutch, owing to their possession of the Cape of Good Hope. This intense appreciation of the benefits of Eastern connection and the possession of Eastern trade can be traced in almost every line of Sir George's literary work; and not the least service that he has done to India has been to create a taste and market for her productions, while he has helped to foster among his own countrymen an active interest in her well-being and bring home to them the importance of their Indian empire to every trade and every individual worker.

"Sir George Birdwood became a member of the Indian Medical Service in December, 1854, doing good work in various capacities until 1857, when he joined the Grant Medical College in Bombay, holding successively with distinguished ability the chairs of anatomy and physiology, and botany and materia medica. It is not, however, in connection with the exercise of his profession, or with medical and scientific appointments, that his name will be best remembered in Bombay, although he numbers among his proudest achievements the discovery and classification of the frankincense-bearing trees. His reputation depends rather upon his influence with the Indian peoples, and the uses to which he put it. His sympathy with them was from the first of the warmest kind. He mixed freely with their leaders and learned men, and their co-operation and wealth were at his disposal for any object beneficial to the community. Never was trust more loyally met and used. There is not a member of the Bombay community, European or Indian, who does not believe implicitly in the integrity, enthusiasm, and intensity of purpose of George Birdwood. His whole career has been an incarnation of the principles of brotherhood and unity, and his efforts by pen and deed have always aimed at teaching the subjects of the Queen, east and west, to understand each other, and to realise the enormous benefits to both which flow from their connection."

Sir George Birdwood holds the appointment in the India Office of Special Assistant in Statistics and Commerce Department, and was Visitor to the Indian Museum. He was appointed a Royal Commissioner for the Imperial Indian and Colonial Exhibition for 1886.

The following documents regarding his career will be of public interest:—

I.

ADDRESS IN LONDON.

Address from Artists, on "Handbook to Indian Court," Paris, 1878.

To GEORGE C. M. BIRDWOOD, Esq., C.S.I., M.D., &c., &c.

1 May, 1879.

Dear Sir,—We, the undersigned, wish to express the thanks we owe you for the manner in which you have performed an important duty in your Report on the Articles of Indian Manufacture exhibited in Paris last year. In common with all who have given any attention to the subject, we have seen and lamented the rapid deterioration that has of late befallen the great historical arts of India. The independant and courageous criticism contained in your Handbook, founded on close observation and long experience, has shown us the causes that have been at work in bringing about this deterioration, and has given us a hope that something may yet be done to stay its further progress.

We do not doubt that all men of culture will agree with us in thinking that the welfare of the arts in question is important both to India and to Europe, and that the loss of them would be a serious blow to civilisation, and an injury to the pleasure and dignity of life: and if this importance be at once admitted, together with the danger to them that comes of the manner in which they are now being dealt with by Europeans that are brought into contact with the Asiatic workmen, we cannot conceive that any thoughtful person will deny the responsibility of England in the matter, or the duty which a great country owes to the arts of exercising foresight and patience, lest, for an apparent gain, she and the world in general should lose industries which have for ages made India famous—industries whose educational influence on the arts of the West is so universally acknowledged by all the students of art and history.

At a time when these productions are getting to be daily more and more valued in Europe, their sources are being dried up in Asia, and goods which ought to be common in the market at reasonable prices, are now becoming rare treasures for museums or the cabinets of rich men. The

result seems to us the reverse of what commerce ought to aim at, and we cannot help thinking that when the producers and the public wake up to a knowledge of the facts in the case, they will be eager to restore these industries to their due position. We think they will have a good chance of success if it be not then too late, and if no artificial obstacles be thrown in their way.

We therefore think that your remarks on these manufactures were both necessary and timely, and will be most useful in promoting a better understanding of the only conditions under which the so much admired art of the East can flourish, or, in the long run, exist; and we beg once more to tender you our hearty thanks, in the full belief that in so doing we express the feelings of all lovers of art who have read your excellent report.

(Signed)

George Aitcheson.
Rutherford Alcock.
Thomas Armstrong.
Edwin Arnold.
G. P. Boyce.
Andrew Cassels.
T. Chenery.
C. Purdon Clarke.
Walter Crane.
Frank Dillon.
Henry Doulton.
M. E. Grant Duff.
Arthur Ellis.
Barrow H. Ellis.
Augustus W. Franks.
F. Garrard.
Carl Haag.
J. A. Heaton.
W. Hertz.
Geo. Howard.
W. Stanley Jevons.
Edward Burne Jones.
Fred Leighton.
Coutts Lindsay.
James D. Linton.
George J. S. Lock.
Clements R. Markham.
Nevil Story Maskelyne.
John Everett Millais.
William Morris.
A. Morrison.
Lewis Pelly.
Robert Phillips.
Val Prinsep.
H. Rawlinson.
Richard Redgrave.
Vincent Robinson.
R. Rost.
T. L. Seccombe.
R. Norman Shaw.
R. H. Soden Smith.
W. G. Spottiswoode.
W. Stebbing.
E. Alma Tadema.
W. T. Thornton.
William S. W. Vaux.
Horace Walpole.
Thomas Wardle.
Philip Webb.
Monier Williams.
Thomas Woolner.
H. Yule.

II.

LETTER FROM THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Letter from the Prince of Wales on "Handbook to Indian Court," Paris, 1878.

Sandringham, Norfolk,
January, 27, 1879.

My dear Dr. Birdwood,

The Paris Exhibition being now at an end, I am anxious to convey to you the expression of my warm thanks for the valuable services which you have been so good as to render to the Royal Commission in connection with the Indian section. These services were of the greatest assistance to the members of that Committee in enabling them to overcome the difficulties which they encountered and in lightening their labours.

I wish to take this opportunity of saying that I cannot speak in too high a sense of the Handbook which you brought out on India. It is universally acknowledged to be a work of importance and utility, and bears witness not only to the vast knowledge of art and the correct judgment of the just means of promoting the highest development of the industries of India which you possess, but it contains also some very valuable and novel contributions to the history of Indian and Eastern commerce, and, as such, it is much appreciated by learned foreigners and by the best judges at home.

Although but a slight return for the care and industry you have bestowed on the work, I propose to place the copyright of the Handbook at your disposal, and it will give me much pleasure to hear that you accept my offer.

In conclusion, I have great satisfaction in sending you a print of myself, with my autograph attacked to it.

Believe me, my dear Dr. Birdwood,
Very sincerely yours,
ALBERT EDWARD, P.

Dr. Birdwood, C.S.I.

III.

RESOLUTION OF SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL.

Resolution approved by the Secretary of State for India in Council, the 22nd of September, 1880.

In receiving from the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, for the use of this office and for transmission to India, copies of the work on the Industrial Arts of India, which has been prepared by Dr. George Birdwood, C.S.I., special assistant in this office, to serve as a Handbook to the India museum, as now reorganised under the Science and Art department at South Kensington, the Secretary of State for India in Council takes the opportunity to record his high sense of the services which Dr. Birdwood has rendered to Indian industry by the preparation of this book, as well as by his Handbook to the Indian Department of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878. The value of the latter work has been noticed in warm terms by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the Royal Commissioners for the Representation of the Queen's Dominions at that Exhibition, and the Secretary of State in Council is glad to add his own recognition of its importance in stimulating a wide public appreciation of Indian Art manufactures, whilst it strives to maintain unimpaired their former beauty of design and execution.

True copy communicated to Dr. George Birdwood, C.S.I.

(Signed) LOUIS MALLET.

[The "Certificates" granted to Sir George Birdwood during his career must have afforded him intense gratification. There is one from the Duke of Argyll (Secretary of State for India), dated 21st June, 1870, while the Doctor was seeking the office of "Registrar to the London University," in which His Grace says:—"I have much pleasure in stating that the services of Dr. Birdwood in India (where the last appointment which he held was that of Registrar of the Bombay University) were of a highly distinguished character, and have recently been acknowledged by the Secretary of State in Council." There are likewise certificates of the highest order from Sir H. B. E. Frere, and Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of the University of

Edinburgh. The well-known and very able Dr. Hunter, of Bombay, also bore testimony to the great ability and thorough earnestness with which Dr. Birdwood carried on his professional duties.]

IX.

SURGEON-MAJOR ARTHUR—DR. A. GORDON—MR. ANDREW CASSELS—CAPTAIN GILES, I.N.

While concluding this work, the four following notices appeared; and, especially to those who knew the men, they will be of interest. The writer met Surgeon Arthur at Tonghoo; and Mr. Cassels' useful career was well appreciated in the commercial world and in the India Office:—

SURGEON-MAJOR J. F. ARTHUR, C.S.I.

Surgeon-Major J. F. Arthur, who died on July 26, after a brief illness, at Lochside House, New Cumnock, Ayrshire, joined the Madras Army in 1836. During the first part of his service he was attached to the artillery. In 1854 he was appointed surgeon of the Madras (now Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, then stationed at Tonghoo, in Burma, and in the following year returned to Madras with the regiment. In May 1857 the regiment was ordered to Bengal to assist in the suppression of the Mutiny, which had then just broken out. He was present with the regiment commanded by Colonel Neill in the various engagements in which it took part, under the late Sir Henry Havelock, from Allahabad to Lucknow, entering the Residency on September 25, and being besieged there until relieved by Lord Clyde in the end of November. After the relief of Lucknow Surgeon Arthur was present with the regiment forming part of the force under the late Sir James Outram, at the Alum Bagh, and was present at the recapture of Lucknow under Lord Clyde. For his services during the Mutiny Sugeon Arthur received the war medal, and was nominated a Companion of the Order of the Star of India. In the year 1861 he retired from the service with the rank of surgeon-major, settling down in Ayrshire, for which county he was a justice of the peace, and for several years regularly attended the J.P.

Courts at Cumnock. He was seventy-nine years of age, and unmarried.

DR. ARCHIBALD GORDON, M.D., C.B.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL of hospitals and honorary surgeon to her Majesty, died on August 3 at Woodlands, West Hoathely, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Dr. Gordon became a licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh in 1832, and took his M.D. degree at Edinburgh University in 1834. He was appointed an assistant-surgeon in the Army Medical Department in 1836, and became surgeon in 1848. He served with the 53rd Regiment in the Sutlej campaign in 1846, including the affair of Buddiwal, and the actions of Aliwal and Sobraon. He served also in medical charge of the 24th regiment throughout the Punjab campaign of 1848–49, and was present at the battles of Sadoolapore, Chillianwallah, and Gujerat. In the Eastern campaign of 1854–55 he was engaged at the battle of Alma and the capture of Balaklava, and was engaged with the 2nd division throughout the siege and fall of Sebastopol, and in the Kinburn expedition. For his services in the Crimea he obtained the medal with three clasps, the Turkish medal, the Companionship of the Order of the Bath, and the Knighthood of the Legion of Honour. Dr. Gordon was principal medical officer with the expeditionary force to China in 1857, and was present at the capture of Canton, and he also served throughout the Oude campaign in 1858–59. He was appointed inspector-general in 1867, and was placed on half-pay in 1870.

MR. ANDREW CASSELS.

LATE member of the Council of India. Mr. Cassels died at Palace Gardens Terrace, London, January 2, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was formerly a well-known Manchester merchant. Mr. Cassels was of an old Scotch family, but his father was for some years a resident of Manchester, and held a responsible position with his friend the late Mr. John Peel, M.P. for Tamworth, then head of the firm of Messrs. John Peel and Co. In 1843 Mr. Andrew Cassels opened for Mr. John Peel the house in Bombay, afterwards so well known in the commercial world under the style of Messrs. Peel, Cassels, and Co. This concern he conducted

with singular ability and success for several years, showing as he did a remarkable knowledge of the wants of the native dealers, and quite a genius for Indian finance. About 1854 Mr. Cassels returned to England. In 1861 he was elected a director of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. In connection with that board, especially in regard to Indian business and the production of Indian cotton—which was then deeply exercising the commercial men of Lancashire—Mr. Cassels's services were of the first importance. Upon leaving Manchester for London in 1868, Mr. Cassels retired from the Chamber and became a member of the Indian Council. To a great extent he owed his seat to the influence brought to bear by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on Lord Salisbury, by whom (as Indian Secretary) he was appointed to that office upon the accession of the Disraeli Administration in 1874. He resigned his seat on the Indian Council in 1880. In politics Mr. Cassels was a Liberal, but he never took any active part in party movements, preferring to devote what time he had to spare for public affairs to the promotion of the great commercial interests of India, especially as a cotton producing country. In private life he was an exceedingly charming companion, distinguished by culture and refinement.

Throughout these "sketches," the author has said nothing about the celebrities of the fine old Indian Navy, though he trusts he has done full justice to their services in his "Narrative of the Second Burmese War," in which he had the honour to serve with some of them. To him the names of Commodore Lynch, C.B., and Captains Campbell and Hewitt, of the *Feroze*, *Sesostris*, and *Muzuffir*, respectively, will ever be familiar. The Commodore was an admirable naval officer, and was well-known as the great explorer of the Euphrates. Campbell, who distinguished himself in the China War, was famous for his "gyms" in the way of towing vessels, either into harbour, or into action; and "Dickey Hewitt" was as smart, able and courteous an officer as one would wish to serve with. The Bombay or Indian Navy was a glorious and well-paid service, well worthy to be presided over by the great East India Company, whose merchant-ships for two and a half centuries had traded at nearly every port in the world. In a recent *obituary*, we find the name of one of the old Indian Navy's distinguished members, that of

CAPTAIN E. GILES, I.N.

THERE are but few old officers of the Indian Navy remaining, and it is with sincere regret we have now to announce the death of Captain Edward Giles. An officer whose life was devoted to maintaining the honour of the service, the smartest commander, the strictest disciplinarian, he was worshipped by those who served under him. At the break up of the Indian Navy he was specially selected to be port officer at Kurrachee, and the great success of that port, the improvement of the harbour, and the encouragement to shipowners to send their ships and steamers there, were entirely due to Captain Giles. He threw his heart and soul into his work, and the Manora pilot establishment soon became known as the best-disciplined of any port on the coasts of India. Transferred to Bombay to assume the office of Superintendent of Marine, Government soon realized the value of Captain Giles's services, and great regret was felt both by Government and by the Indian Marine that his failing health compelled him to seek rest from his labours. He came to England, but never to return to India again. He died at Brighton on August 13, and was buried in the Hove Cemetery, a few old and devoted friends, five Scindees among them, following him to the grave.—*Homeward Mail* August 9, and *Overland Mail* August 20, 1886.

X.

THE LAST COURT OF DIRECTORS.*

(1858.)

The last Meeting of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company was held 1st September, 1858.

CHAIRMAN:

Sir Frederic Currie, Bart.

DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN:

William Joseph Eastwick, Esq.

* Having alluded in the sketch of Sir John Kaye and elsewhere to the transfer of the East India Company's Government to the Crown, the records here given will be of interest.

DIRECTORS:

Charles Mills, Russell Ellice, William Butterworth Bayley, John Shepherd, Martin Tucker Smith, M.P., Esqrs.; Sir Henry Willock, K.L.S., Sir James Weir Hogg, Bart., Colonel William Henry Sykes, M.P.; Elliot Macnaghten, Ross Donnelly Mangles, M.P., John Harvey Astell, Henry Thoby Prinsep, John Pollard Willoughby, M.P., Esqrs.; Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Creswick Rawlinson, K.C.B., Lieutenant-General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., Major-General Sir Robert John Hussey Vivian, K.C.B.

THE OLD COURT OF DIRECTORS.

From the interesting and useful work, "Record of Services of Madras Civilians," by Mr. Charles Campbell Prinsep, the following historical note on the Old Court of Directors is selected:—

Previous to the year 1773 the twenty-four Directors were elected every year, and the day of election was in the month of April. In 1773 (Act 13 Geo. III., cap. 63) the system of election was changed. It was then provided that six Directors should be chosen for four years, six for three years, six for two years, and six for one year, and at every Annual Election six new Directors were to be chosen for the term of four years, and no longer. Subsequently Act 17 Geo. III., cap. 8, of 1777 fixed the second Wednesday in April as the date of the Annual Election. The qualification of a Director was £2,000 East India Stock. In the event of a vacancy by death or otherwise, another Director had to be chosen within forty days of the declaration of such vacancy, the new Director succeeding to the unexpired portion of his predecessor's term of office. The salaries of Directors were regulated by the bye-laws. In earlier years each Director received £150 per annum, in 1794 the amount was increased to £300, and in 1854 to £500 a year.

THE FIRST COUNCIL OF INDIA.

(1858.)

The first Meeting of the Council of India took place 3rd September, 1858.

SECRETARY OF STATE:

The RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY, M.P.

(Who, succeeding Lord Ellenborough, was also the last President of the Board of Control.)

UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE:

Henry James Baillie, Esq., M.P.
Sir George Russell Clerk, K.C.B.

ASSISTANT-UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE:

James Cosmo Melvill, Esq.

COUNCIL:

Sir Frederic Currie, Bart. (Vice-President).
Charles Mills, Esq.
John Shepherd, Esq.
Sir James Weir Hogg, Bart.
Elliot Macnaghten, Esq.
Ross D. Mangles, Esq.
William J. Eastwick, Esq.
Henry T. Prinsep, Esq.
John P. Willoughby, Esq.
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B.
Major-General Sir Robert J. H. Vivian, K.C.B.
Sir Henry C. Montgomery, Bart.
Sir John L. M. Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B.
Colonel Sir Proby T. Cautley, K.C.B.
William Urquhart Arbuthnot, Esq.

XI.

OPINIONS ON SIR WILLIAM ANDREW'S WORKS.

(1846.)

INDIAN RAILWAYS,

By an Old Indian Postmaster.

"THE third edition of a work on railways is a fact in literature almost unprecedented, and one which speaks trumpet-tongued for the value of the publication. . . . . In fact, there has not been such a valuable contribution to the civilisation of India, as this work on Indian Railways."—*Observer*, February 13, 1848.

"By which public and official notice was mainly, if not first, directed to the great object of railway communication in India"—*Morning Herald*, September 14, 1852.

(1856.)

THE SCINDE RAILWAY.

"In reference to the Punjab, the capacity of moving troops to a given point was of immense importance. In a military point of view, the advantage would be this, that if the Khyber Pass should be closed to our forces, they could be moved with rapidity to the Bolan Pass, and, in either case, the enemy would be taken in flank or in the rear. The Euphrates Valley Railway would give them the command of the seaboard of the Persian Gulf; the completion of that railway would practically make Chatham nearer to any point of action in the Persian territory, than any military force which could be brought to bear upon it from Central Asia. If the triumphs of Great Britain are to be permanent, they must be rendered so by a mutuality of interests, by the material and civilising influences of expanding commerce. The great battle of the country for the tranquillity of Central Asia must be fought at Manchester and Liverpool. If we would command Central Asia, that dominion must be established by opening up a ready market for their raw

produce, and subjecting them by the force of their own material interests."—Extract from Speech of Sir B. Frere, at meeting of Scinde Railway, 1857.

LETTER TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., ON THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF

The Euphrates Valley Railway.

M. Lesseps, the great founder of the Suez Canal, has borne in eloquent words, his testimony to the importance of the Euphrates Valley Railway.

Telegraphic Communication with India.

"Mr. W. P. Andrew, the 'Old Indian Postmaster' of the *Times*, is crowning his Indian Railway triumphs, and his Asiatic labours for the Euphrates line, with the establishment of an 'European and Indian Junction Telegraph Company.'"—*Manchester Courier*, August 2, 1856. "In projecting and in pledging himself, supported as he ever is, to carry out the European and Indian Junction Telegraph, from Selencia to the head of the Persian Gulf, Mr. Andrew is doing yeoman's service to the cause of civilisation. His little Scinde line was a good step on the right road. His projected, and, we may now say accepted, extensions of it, coupled with the Euphrates Valley line, and its electric telegraph, all lead in the same direction, and tend to the same important result—the solution of the time-honoured question—the shortest route from the far west to the fabled Cathai—the completion of almost daily intercourse between the most distant nations of the universe."—*Bell's Weekly Messenger*, August 2, 1856.

(1874.)

The Strategic and Commercial Evils of a Break of Gauge in India.

"Mr. Andrew had the foresight to perceive, and the boldness to lay before his countrymen, the great importance and practicability of connecting those points (the sea, the capital of the Punjab and Delhi) by railway. . . . He must now, I think, look back with satisfaction to the

relations which then existed between him and the merchant princes who ruled India, and those of Her Majesty's Government who controlled the rulers of India. . . . One great cause of congratulation seems to me to be the success of your efforts to have a continuous unbroken gauge. Those who have concurred with your chairman and myself, in, from the first, deprecating any such break in the great lines in the valley of the Ganges and the Indus, will appreciate what an enormous advantage this unbroken gauge is. I can look at it in no other light, occurring in such an enormous length of trunk line as your railway, than that, with the break of gauge, you could get no more than half the advantages your railway would otherwise offer. . . . You will not reap half the advantages you ought to have, unless you have uniformity of management. I do not suppose there is a gentleman present, who has any kind of mercantile experience, who will not endorse this truth. . . . Complete the work, and, once completed, I cannot imagine a railway shareholder who would fail to see that without uniformity of management your work is but half complete; the advantages you are entitled to reap from it are but half realised. I trust, therefore, that the arguments which your chairman has so well put before the authorities in this matter, will lead to a speedy concession of a uniform management throughout the whole of your great line."—Speech of Sir Bartle Frere, at Meeting of S. P. & D. Railway, 23rd December, 1880.

(1878.)

India and Her Neighbours.

French opinion on such a work must ever be of the highest value; and here is one from the most famous of all their periodicals:—"M. Andrew, dans l'intéressant ouvrage qu'il vient de publier sous ce titre *l'Inde et les pays voisins*, nous retrace à grands traits l'histoire du développement primitif de l'empire indien sous la domination brittanique."—*Revue des Deux Mondes.*

America, too, is by no means silent in her praise of the indefatigable "pioneer":—"He has the historian's faculty of gathering up and sorting his materials, and he tells the history of India, and describes its physical features and characteristics, with the pen of knowledge and experience."—*Times of New York.*

Before citing an important Russian opinion, it may be stated that even the great German "Chancellor" wrote to him, thanking him for his views, signing the letter with his own bold signature.

The friendly tone of Russia in the following critique is particularly remarkable:—"He foresees that Russia will certainly possess herself of Merv, and will gain over all the neighbouring tribes to her own interests. In order to put a stop to this Russian expansion in Central Asia, and to protect the Suez Canal, and with a view to giving timely succour to Turkey and Persia, the author is of opinion that the Euphrates Valley Railway should be constructed, which will connect the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf. As a work of reference on India, Mr. Andrew's book has its value. It is supplied with a good index, and with two capital maps."—*The St. Petersburg Vedomosti.*

"It is now upwards of a quarter of a century since the chairman of the Scinde Railway commenced to broach the idea of connecting the Khyber and the Bolan passes with the railway system of India. For more than a quarter of a century he has unsparingly advocated these views, not only in weighty official communications to the Indian Government, in repeated letters in our columns, but in books replete with valuable information concerning the trade and history of India. Last year we reviewed a work by Mr. W. P. Andrew, in which he energetically insisted on the immediate completion of a railway to our scientific frontier. Only a few days ago we published a letter from him adverting to the same subject. Had the views so persistently advocated by Mr. Andrew, and so repeatedly brought forward by us, been adopted at the commencement of the struggle last October, as we then ventured to insist upon, vast sums would have been spared in the hire of transport, and we should have been spared the ignominy of feeling that a British Army, nominally on active service, has occupied five weeks in covering less than seventy miles."—*Times*, October 13, 1879.

(1880.)

THE BOLAN AND KHYBER RAILWAYS.

"The first scheme for such a line (the Kandahar Railway) was publicly mooted about the time of the Indian Mutinies by Mr. W. P. Andrew."—The First Section of the Kandahar Railway, by J. R. Bell, M.I.C.E.

"Our Scientific Frontier."

"Our scientific frontier was referred to in both Houses of Parliament when discussing Central Asian politics in January, 1881.

"The dignity of knighthood, and that of the Companionship of the Indian Empire, that have recently been conferred on the able and patriotic chairman of the Scind. Punjab, and Delhi Railway, have been *omnium consensu* richly deserved; and will, we trust, prove only the forerunners of those hereditary honours which are the accustomed rewards of public services so important and so long continued as those of Sir William Andrew, C.I.E."—*Allen's Indian Mail*, January 23, 1882.

"Sir W. P. Andrew has well deserved the honour of knighthood at length accorded him. No man has laboured more sedulously, in these latter times, to draw India nearer than the Chairman of the Scinde Railway Company, and the indefatigable advocate of the Euphrates Valley Railway. If the latter project be realised by English enterprise, the fact will be due as much to his untiring zeal, as to General Chesney's labours in ascertaining and establishing its practicability. The Germans have secured a concession for the line, and they may possibly be able to raise the capital to carry it out. If they should succeed, we English will not show the least jealousy, we shall be the most numerous and best paying customers of the railway when it is made, using it as freely as we have used M. de Lesseps' canal. But it is morally certain that no Dr. Strausberg would ever have taken the trouble to ask for and 'engineer' the concession, had not Sir W. P. Andrew kept the idea of a railway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf prominently before the public mind through weary and well-nigh hopeless years."—The *Bombay Gazette* Summary, February 2, 1882.

[Since the foregoing remarks were written, Dr. Strausberg—who, some years ago, was looked upon as a great authority on the subject—is no more. He was about to work with Sir William Andrew to forward the grand scheme, so now the herculean task has to be borne by one pair of shoulders. The Germans have now no interest in the concession, which passed to other hands, and has lately been placed in Sir William's for a portion of the route. Anyway, there must now be no more hoping against hope; but immediate action, in the face of Russian designs, and wily Russian diplomacy, if England wishes to keep her position as paramount lord of the East.]

XII.

The Russian Advance.—Babylonia.

As a fitting conclusion to these appendices, and with reference to the career of our "distinguished scientific Anglo-Indian,"—the earnest and untiring advocate of a permanent British Empire in the East—it may be well to say a few words on a valuable "Note" and "Appendix," just published with the reprint of his famous letter to the *Times* on "The Advance of Russia." The appendix contains "Remarks on the Canals and Resources of Babylonia, and European Colonisation," by a great and zealous authority on the subject, Dr. A. Sprenger. With our over-crowded modern Babylon, with its numerous rivers and streams of human life, anxious for an outlet where they may gain a fair wage for their labour and intelligence, such a theme, at the present time, appears to be of the very first importance. The idea of a resuscitated "Babylon the great," holding out its friendly arms to mighty London, and John Bull, one of these days, quietly settling down in the land of "the Chaldee's excellency," throws every other project of colonisation entirely into the shade! But let us proceed to Sir William Andrew's "Note,"—one, like St. Paul's famed epistle, "in few words." Dr. Smolka, President of the Austrian Delegation, said truly on November 4, that "the situation in the East had become very critical." The Emperor of Austria, on the 6th, on receiving the Austrian and Hungarian Delegations, declared that "recent events" at Sofia, had brought about "a fresh dangerous crisis," which occupied "the full attention of his Government." On this Sir William remarks:—"It is evident from the effect produced on public opinion by Russia's proceedings in Bulgaria, that she threatens the liberties of the whole Balkan Peninsula, and will advance on Constantinople." It is now to be seen to what lengths Austria-Hungary will permit Russia to go. Lord Salisbury's "dignified, temperate, and firm speech at the Guildhall," he says, "gave great additional force to the views expressed in the Austrian and Hungarian Delegations when he emphatically remarked: "The opinion and judgment of Austria must weigh with enormous weight in the Councils of Her Majesty's Government, and the policy which Austria pursues will contribute

very largely to shape the policy which England also will pursue.' It is then humorously remarked: "Notwithstanding the gravity of the position, the 'Honest Broker' gives no sign." But the stern reality is at hand, which defies contradiction, and puts an end to controversy. "Russian Railways in Asia are approaching close to the frontier of Afghanistan, and Batoum is becoming more and more important as the basis for operations against India and Armenia. An Odessa despatch to the *Tayhlatt* lately informs us that 3,000 picked Russian troops have been sent to reinforce the garrison at Batoum, and that the fortifications at this place, as well as the railway in course of construction between Batoum and Erzeroum, are being pushed on with extraordinary activity." The sooner this valuable "Note" is changed, and the proceeds distributed for the sake of British interests in the East, the better! No wonder that Sir William Andrew has declared that Russia "puts India to shame in the matter of railway supply." Is our old London motto, *Nunquam Dormio*, a mere travesty? We must not allow ourselves to be beaten in the East by the wide-awake Czar at St. Petersburg!

In his letter to the author of the "Note," (which forms the appendix above alluded to), Dr. Sprenger, after praising his lecture on the Euphrates Valley Railway, says forcibly: —"The *Advance of Russia* receives a new interest by the latest steps of the Government of the Czar to make a Russian lake of the Black Sea; and I was delighted to observe from your note in handwriting, 'Batoum, the future basis of operations against India,' that you are fully alive to the danger which threatens the Indian Empire from that quarter." The Doctor then alludes to his own pamphlet on the "Resources of Babylonia," which, he says, surpass "the most sanguine expectations," and strongly advocates the restoration of the numerous canals which made the country so great and so wealthy before her fall. In fact, what the scientific Sir Arthur Cotton was in India, Dr. Sprenger would appear to be as regards Babylonia. Irrigation and communication are his grand themes. But, added to his desire for the reconstruction of the canals south of the ruins of Babylon, is that for railway communication. "If Russia," he says, "makes Batoum the basis of operations the first object of conquest is Mosul." For strategical as well as commercial reasons then, he thinks it highly advisable to keep the necessity of "eventually constructing a branch railway from the Euphrates to Mosul in view." It

is well remarked by this learned son of true progress, that if the resources of Babylonia and Assyria are developed, to the extent they were two thousand years ago, these countries will be quite as well worth possessing as India, and with the exception of the neighbourhood of Bosra and the swamps, they offer the advantage that northern races of man can be transplanted into them, without fear of their materially degenerating." Again, "a rapid development of the resources of these countries can only be expected if Europeans settle in them." Among the undertakings which might induce enterprising men to emigrate, Dr. Sprenger mentions horse-breeding, which occupation, with the "snort of the Iron Horse," would go well together in Babylonia, which, writes Dr. Keith in his "Evidence of Prophecy," was "the most fertile region of the whole East." He also says, on the authority of Strabo and of Pliny, that Babylonia was one vast plain "adorned and enriched by the Euphrates and the Tigris."—*Resurgam.*

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